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WASHINGTON WIRE

WAITING TO LISTEN to Elmer Davis the other night, we tuned in inadvertently on Fulton Lewis Jr. This experience is still something of a shock. There was no pretense at impartiality that we could detect; to our naïve ears it sounded like straight Republican propaganda. We got a phrase about the "polished perfection" of Dewey's performance, or something like that, and switched off—thoughtfully.

It wasn't the Lewis bias that gave us pause, nor the fact that 70 percent of the daily newspapers are now once more blowing the GOP trumpet. The thought that came to us was something about the Republican candidate himself.

The trouble with Dewey as we see it (with all deference to Fulton Lewis) is that millions who are going to vote for him don't really like him. His cold, decimal-point efficiency doesn't appeal to folks. The trouble with this whole 1948 campaign, we philosophized, is that there is really nobody to hate. With FDR alive it was another matter. But the anti-Trumanites today seem inspired by nothing better than a mild contempt, while the best Dewey seems able to achieve among his detractors so far is a rather active dislike. You can't get out the vote that way.

As for Truman now, he has nothing to lose. His team is on its own five-yard line and the game is about over. He can't win by line-plunging. This is the time to do or die. If we are any judge, from now on you will see some spectacular political forward passes from the Truman team. The listless affair may yet end up in a whirl.

ECA chief Paul Hoffman summed up the gloomy world situation pretty well here last week. "The Russians don't want war," he said, "and they don't want peace, either." This is the kind of world in which we are learning to live.

We went to Marshall's final press conference last week before he flew to Paris. With military punctuality Marshall marched down the slanting aisle with his aides at the stroke of noon. He folded his arms and perched on his usual table corner. Marshall is a solid, formidable figure who inspires respectful treatment even from the press. He made one or two announcements and followed with a succession of "No comments." He looked tired. Often he says "Beg pardon?" and asks to have a question repeated. Then he says "No comment" again.

Even so, Marshall is willing to set the mood. Asked to discuss Eden's statement in London that the international situation is going from bad to worse, he observed that there had been no great relief in the past 10 days for him personally and that he would welcome a little encouragement. That was really all he said. Perhaps it's a commentary on the world's state that, even so, the New York *Times* got a lead story out of it the next day.

It ought to be a lot of fun for New Dealers (like us) to shed responsibilities if Dewey wins, go into opposition and begin throwing barbs. But we have been reviewing the prospect, and have begun to wonder. The troubles facing the incoming President are considerable. When is the delayed depression finally going to hit? If unemployment shows up and the big, sharp teeth of the Taft-Hartley Act really take hold, what kind of industrial warfare is there going to be in America? What can Dewey do with the next Congress if it is anything like the 80th, a possibility his own victory is likely to ensure?

The last Congress hated the Reciprocal Trade Act and nearly cut the throat of the Marshall Plan; how about the new one? Also, what happens

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when mounting defense costs catch up with the balanced budget and force higher taxes—on a political party that has just reduced them? What happens to our relations with China when Dewey puts through his objective of greater aid to Chiang? These things begin to worry us. We expect to have plenty of criticism under such circumstances, but it may all be less fun than we expected.

Our spies inside the Un-American Activities Committee tell us that it would like to drop the whole Condon affair but that it now feels it can't. Its honor is involved. Seems the original charges against Dr. Condon arose from something of a misapprehension. Chairman Thomas understood that the supposed "evidence" before the New York grand jury was much stronger than it was and feared a report would be issued that would grab the headlines. Stripling opposed issuing the "smear" against Condon, but Thomas overruled him. Later it developed it was mostly a matter of Dr. and Mrs. Condon having dined with the wrong people. The committee was willing to drop the whole thing.

But committee officials complain sadly there is an "obstinate streak" in Condon. And these scientists are too uppity. The committee in its dim way senses that people are asking why Condon isn't given a chance to testify. So he is going to have it, and of course he must be given the works. The committee is rather regretful at having to maul him, but it feels conscience-bound to kick him around as unfairly as possible. It will be a guilt-by-association trial entirely, we understand. Yes, they feel rather badly about it, but, after all, their honor is involved.

We looked in on the convention of the Association for the Advancement of Science here last week. We had the queer impression that many a scientist was emerging from his laboratory cell for the first time in years, blinking in astonishment at the pigmy politicians he saw. Now some of them are beginning to think they must leave their cells or be enslaved by the ape men.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 119, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1765, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

TRUMAN PLANS TO FUMIGATE

As his train heads for the West Coast, President Truman has a plan that is making some of his advisers shiver. But unless the more timid ones prevail, Truman will make a speech before this campaign is over that may rate him a higher place in Democratic *Party* history than Franklin Roosevelt ever won. The President wants to read the Dixiecrat Southerners out of the party permanently. He would do it by expelling them from party office, barring them from the Democratic caucus in the 81st Congress and stripping them of the key committee positions which they hold by seniority.

After his notable failure to carry out the purge of 1938, Roosevelt never again tried to rid his party of the reactionary Southerners who continually blocked the party's program. House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn and others of Harry Truman's more conservative and cautious friends will do their best to stop him from going through with his present plan. But he wants to do it.

This is only one of the things on the President's mind as he starts a cross-continent campaign tour which will avoid the South except for Texas and the tip of Arkansas. On one Texas date Truman and Henry Wallace, both of whom are having trouble getting on the ballot in some states, will be making speeches only 60 miles apart. This is about as close to each other as any of the candidates will get.

PEACE, IT'S WONDERFUL

More unhappy history was written last week on the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

In Seattle 10,000 striking members of the International Association of Machinists sullenly returned to work for the Boeing Airplane Company (the *NR*, August 30).

Their defeat and the sorry labor relations it is bound to engender can be blamed directly on the law itself, which strengthened the hand of a stubborn employer and opened the gates of the plant to a rival unionist—Dave Beck, West Coast Teamsters' boss.

In Washington the President confirmed labor's fears that influential politicians can impair the NLRB's impartiality. Truman accused Senator Robert A. Taft, co-author of T-H, of trying to put the heat on the NLRB to enforce an injunction against the International Typographical Union in the printers' dispute with newspaper publishers. The President said that Taft summoned the NLRB officials to his office last July 28 for a conference attended by several publishers but not by any union representatives. Two weeks later the NLRB took action against the union on charges of injunction violations.

Taft first said the statement was "silly," then admitted that such a meeting had been held in his office, but denied exerting any pressure himself.

The Boeing strike ended after 140 days during which the workers lost $23,900,000 in wages. The union leaders called it off for fear that the NLRB might declare the strikers ineligible to vote in a plant election and permit the Teamsters, now busily organizing in the IAM jurisdiction, to take over.

Despite that obvious danger, the strikers seemed determined to keep up their picket lines, and it required two mass meetings and all the eloquence of their leaders to convince them they should go back to work and gather strength for the promised bitter fight with Beck and the Teamsters.

This solution is known, in the gobbledegook of the Taft-Hartley era, as labor peace.

ISRAEL AND BERNADOTTE

JERUSALEM (by Ted Lurie)

One important fact has emerged here from the kaleidoscopic events since five o'clock last Friday afternoon when assassins' bullets pierced the heart of Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator for Palestine. This is the very real determination of the government of Israel to act immediately and drastically to punish the perpetrators of a crime that may jeopardize the efforts of the new nation to build a firm foundation for its existence.

Even in those moderate Israeli circles where there has been criticism of the mediator, there is only horror over his murder. Many Israelis had objected to the Swedish Count's interpretation of the immigration terms of the truce arrangement; others had been angry about his suggestion that Jerusalem be made an Arab city; but no one this correspondent has talked to has condoned his assassination.

The crime is a heritage of Israel's stormy birth period. From that time Israel acquired two political terrorist bands: the Stern group, now known as LHY (which stands for Lonmei Heirut Yisrael, the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel); and the Irgun Zvai Leumi. The LHY had originally pledged that they would disband when the independence of Israel was established, but at that time they maintained that the uncertainty over the status of the new state justified their existence as a sepa-

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rate military organization in Jerusalem.

In the words of a *Palestine Post* editorial, Israel will have no peace with itself until this group is rounded up and rooted out. The citizens of Israel are very much aware that they are in the public eye and are extremely conscious of the responsibility devolving upon them because of this fact. The first reaction of the man in the street after his shock of horror was to ask himself how the rest of the world would react.

Everyone here knows that the act of treachery against the true interests of Israel is certain to make more difficult the state's struggle for admission to the United Nations. Although there seems no question of any government withdrawing its recognition of Israel, there is evidence that the chances of recognition by other states have definitely weakened.

Israel's newly arrived representative in Sweden had already begun negotiations in Stockholm that might have led to early recognition, and other Scandinavian states might have followed suit. But the killing of the Swedish King's nephew may bring these efforts to naught. On the other hand, it is reported here from Paris that the Security Council of the UN will not be diverted by this crime from its efforts to settle the war here.

When the LHY organization is finally liquidated (and there seems no doubt that the government is determined to do this at any cost), it will be accompanied by the wiping out of the last remnants of the Irgun, which had been concentrated in Jerusalem in the strength of about one battalion. The Irgun has definitely dissociated itself from the Bernadotte crime. This had been in line with recent Irgun declarations that they were ending their existence as a military force in Jerusalem.

Arthur Koestler, who in the past has written in defense of Palestine terrorists, now declares that terrorism is dying out in Israel. What he should have written was that terrorism is being stamped out.

GOMULKA AND THE KREMLIN

by Irving Brant

FEW PEOPLE outside of Poland ever heard of Vice Premier Wladislaw Gomulka until he was ousted as secretary-general of the Polish Workers' Party (Communist) for being too friendly toward Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. Press and radio accounts made it seem that a moderately important official had been thrown out of party office but had saved his government post, and perhaps his skin, by the usual Communist confession of guilt. He had followed "a false and anti-Marxist line," had encouraged rightist and nationalist deviations from the true faith, but would be good as pie in the future.

Up to this break, Gomulka was in fact the most powerful man in the Polish government. Big-boned, homely, making decisions without hesitation, he gave the impression of being about as weak as an elephant. He worked easily with non-Communist ministers, yet furnished the chief driving force toward Communist supremacy. It was he more than any other who knocked out the political aspirations of his official twin, Vice Premier Mikolajczyk of the Polish Peasant Party, now in exile. He was the foremost advocate of a union of the Communists and left-wing Socialists, which actually came about after this upheaval, as a means of tightening left-wing control. Despite this leadership, Gomulka was personally vulnerable. He had no military or police power.

Gomulka came up from nowhere to help form the Government of National Unity. Some anti-Soviet Poles said he was a Russian, others that he was a Moscow stooge. He remained personally unknown after his power became evident, so a fiction was built up which omitted his coöperative spirit and gave him a ruthless quality. After other men had botched the job, he took charge of resettling the western territories gained from Germany.

In western resettlement, Gomulka promoted the same policy that the Communists were committed to throughout Poland—private ownership of small farms. From the day it came into power, the revolutionary government had to combat peasant fears of land nationalization. The Communists promised that the Russian policy would not be followed.

Even if the Polish Communists look forward to nationalization of land, they will not willingly add it to their troubles at this time. It is obvious that the policy is being forced on them by Moscow. Gomulka resisted and was coerced into line by men who probably feel much as he does on the domestic issue, but who are readier to obey Russian orders. All these men know that Poland is geographically cut off from any ally but Russia and can hold the territories taken from Germany only with Russian support.

In my opinion, Gomulka's nationalist policy would actually be more helpful to the Soviets than the one which supplants it. The drive for land nationalization will make new enemies for the Polish government and for Russia among the peasants.

Marx made public ownership of land the first step in socialization. Lenin and Stalin made it the last step. Zhdanov, the Russian who pushed for land nationalization in the satellite states, is dead. His policies have been pressed upon Poland since his death.

If the Zhdanov policies are insisted on, it will not be through academic adherence to Marx, but to strengthen Soviet Russia's position vis-à-vis the West. If they are abandoned, it will be from a conclusion that Russian security is reduced, not increased, by a course which drives most of the border-state populations into bitter opposition and estranges many of the Communists themselves.

Irving Brant is the author of The New Poland, Road to Peace *and* Freedom, *and* James Madison the Nationalist.

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HUNGARY: SHOWPLACE OF COMMUNISM

by Alexander Kendrick

BUDAPEST

SINCE TITO'S DEFECTION, Hungary has been assigned a leading role in Eastern Europe, and Budapest today is the glittering showplace of communism. Whether this proves that life is gay because of or in spite of communism, however, no two Magyars will agree. At any rate, in addition to the most beautiful and best-dressed women in Europe, richly filled shops, booming night clubs, mountains of pâté de foie gras, lakes of Tokay wine and multitudes of gypsy fiddlers—and, incidentally, some of the scabbiest beggars—Budapest is also a place where political opposition still exists. It is a city where cabinet ministers and party leaders are still available and vociferous, where the church is still functioning in full-fledged opposition, where entry to foreign visitors is still virtually unrestricted, and where books and newspapers of any type and from any foreign country can still be bought, and American films are shown all over town.

The operative word in all these statements is "still," for events in Hungary seem to be moving toward some sort of climax. Since Tito's expulsion, a new note of urgency has been injected into what originally had been a patient, long-term plan for the gradual transition to socialism. Now the timetable has been speeded up. The revolution is taking place twenty-four hours daily while declassed countesses sit unaware in their cafés waiting for the Americans to come and restore their estates. The lists of government decrees grow longer every day, as do the lists of resignations, appointments, escapes and attempted escapes, arrests and trials.

But this is only one phase of the accelerated revolution. The other is that probably more hard work is being done per square foot in Hungary than in any other country in Europe, that the rate of reconstruction of badly

HARRY DIX

shattered Budapest is staggering, that new industrial plants are being started weekly and that agriculture and especially the livestock industry have revived amazingly to make this again one of the most abundant of all countries. Only a few days ago, the government opened hundreds of sidewalk stands selling bottled milk and white rolls in any quantity, unrationed and at low prices. It may not sound like much in California, but few other European countries are able to do it.

At the Budapest autumn fair, which brought in hundreds of American visitors, the famous "Salami Street" is still going full blast with its dozens of kinds of sausage and wurst, but there is less interest in it and more, for instance, in the huge exhibit of aluminum ware made in Hungarian plants from Hungarian bauxite.

The Hungarian countryside is almost as unbelievable as Budapest. On Sunday afternoon in the tiniest mud-hole village, girls and women promenade in frocks which would do credit to any town in Iowa, and there is a look of well-being and prosperity that isn't simulated.

Hungary's three-year plan is now one-third completed, and the achievements of the first year have been such as to remove any doubt about the success of the whole. The country's foreign trade is not only in excellent shape, with exports four times the 1938 figure, but, much more important, the brilliant economic planners, Zoltan Vas and Erno Gero, have in a single year changed the nature of trade radically. Instead of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods, as before the war, Hungary this year will devote only one-sixth of her total imports to raw materials, while fully 86 percent of her exports will be finished and half-finished goods, by contrast with 44 percent in 1938. This is a small revolution in itself, and exactly the reverse of what is happening to next-door Austria under American tutelage.

Nationalization of Hungarian industry has also turned out well—except, of course, for those whose businesses were taken over—while industrial production has reached and in some cases exceeded the 1938 levels, and is thus well ahead of the plan.

If Hungary had continued to develop in her own way, behind the hundred-year-old revolutionary tradition of Kossuth that is being fervently remembered this centenary year, the process of shaking loose from centuries of feudalism might have taken two or three decades and might have been done with a minimum of economic and social dislocation. But it has become evident within only the past few weeks that the pressure is on, and that the climax ahead will be brought about by a fast and sudden telescoping of time and events.

Thus collectivization, which originally was regarded as a ten-year project, now can be said to be rapidly approaching. Dismissal of Peter Veres, Peasant Party leader, from the post of Minister of National Defense, for not being so sure about the government's agrarian program, came after a government decree suspending all private buying and selling of land and giving the state automatic option on all land. There has been a drastic purge of the Ministry of Agriculture, and each day the official press hints darkly at things to come. Agrarian reform, it says, "is only the first step in the

Alexander Kendrick, who covered Moscow for the Chicago Sun-Times, is a CBS special correspondent in Central Europe.

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complete liberation of the peasant and it is logical that every step is followed by a further step."

A recurring note is, "We have to eliminate all who stand in the way of a solution."

Privately, and in some cases publicly, cabinet ministers admit that exhortation won't be enough. Minister of Construction Darvas, in one interview, admitted that peasant opposition was "fairly strong," but added that it was "hopeless" for the peasants to believe they would be permitted to continue "on a bourgeois basis" to seek for "prosperity in an individual form."

As in other Eastern European countries where the Cominform's collectivization orders have had serious political repercussions, so in Hungary the term "collectivization" is never mentioned. Officially, the objectives of large-scale coöperatives are on a voluntary basis and with individual land tenure. This frame of reference is narrowing daily, however, in everything that is said, written or done, and, in any case, the peasant himself isn't going to draw any fine distinctions.

These agricultural troubles and the Communist Party purge that goes with them are, one might say, Zhdanov's farewell blessing to the Eastern states. But their effects are likely to be more serious in Hungary than elsewhere. The situation was made to order for Cardinal Mindszenthy, who is not only articulate but still powerful. He didn't find as much popular support as he expected in his campaign against the nationalization of schools, but he may do better against the nationalization of land, especially since he is of peasant stock himself.

Yet it is plain in Hungary, as in Poland, that mere redistribution of land didn't solve basic problems and that agriculture must be nationalized if these countries are to reach their ultimate goals. Like other Communist leaders in Europe, Matyas Rakosi, Laszlo Rajk, Jozsef Revai and other Hungarian Communists are afraid of a new series of peasant wars, and they may even be wondering if perhaps Tito wasn't right after all.

FRANCE WANTS PEACE AT

by Percy Winner

PARIS

AFTER ONE of the coldest and wettest summers in recent French history, the weather improved. There was plenty of sunlight toward the last, and Parisians, having returned to town from bleak holidays in crowded seaside and mountain resorts, tried to take advantage of it. American tourists were still arriving in droves, so the "natives" and the "occupiers" vied for places at tables on the sidewalk terraces of cafés along the *Grands Boulevards* and in the new existentialist quarter around St. Germain des Prés on the Left Bank of the Seine.

After lunch every day there were knots of persons waiting at the curb for chairs at the Café de la Paix and other big establishments near the Place de l' Opéra, and also at the Flore, the Deux Magots, the Royal St. Germain in the literary area created by Jean-Paul Sartre and now abandoned by him and his followers. As coffee and cigarettes were consumed, shabby old men and women darted among the tables retrieving the butts; and on the sidewalk less agile but equally shabby old men and women eluded the shooing of waiters to sing in wavering or cracked voices the sad-sweet refrains of the *bals musettes* and *cafés-chantants* of a Paris that exists no more.

Early one afternoon, at the Café de la Paix, a tall, handsome, rather foppishly dressed young man, carrying a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post,* took a chair at a table already occupied by two men. Politely, they told him in French that the chair was taken by a friend who would return in a few moments. The young man did not understand. The Frenchmen repeated their story in bad English. Angrily, the young man arose and transferred himself to another table, exclaiming loudly, "Damn these stupid Frogs." He opened the magazine and called to a waiter in English, "Whiskey and soda."

There were two women at the table he now was usurping and they had been speaking Spanish to each other. When they objected to his intrusion, he said, "I have more right to be here than you Germans." One of the two women said that if he thought Spanish was German he was "*mal élevé*" (badly brought up). She was furious, and poured out a stream of heavily accented French, appealing to all and sundry against "*ce barbare.*" The beautifully dressed young American put his face close to hers and said, "Ya, ya, ya, German." The Frenchmen at the next table arose, paid their bill and made place for the American so that the Spanish women could be rid of him. Someone nearby called out that the American should not be served, but the waiter shrugged and said, "*Après tout, ils ont gagné la guerre et c'est nous qui devons payer.*" (After all, they won the war and it is we who must pay.)

It is a commonplace of the propaganda jargon of the French Communists and their fellow travelers that France should not depend on America. It is less banal that a similar warning should come from François Mauriac of the French Academy, the great Catholic, conservative novelist. In *Figaro,* a leading newspaper of the Right, he published a front-page editorial, "We Still Have a Little Time." He wrote in part:

> It is to the interest of the United States to put us back on our feet, not to maintain us. We are not eternally ruined, nor can they count on an endless prosperity. We both have within us the possibilities of recovery and of disaster. Where will the United States be in four years? It is probable that Stalin's entire policy is geared to those sudden reversals that threaten a great capitalist democracy at every moment. . . .
>
> There is one thing the peoples of Europe should never lose sight of: one day, sooner or later, they will find themselves as much alone in front of the USSR as Little Red Riding Hood face to face with the wolf. Now it

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ANY PRICE

seems that there is still a little time left in which they can prepare to withstand this encounter. . . . Let it not be said that Europe has no chance to hold off the enormous Asiaticized Russia. That is not the question; the question is to constitute a force that the wolf would prefer not to attack directly. And it would be most useful to study attentively the different policies of the Soviets toward their satellites.

They are not all treated alike: some are slaves, some are spared. Little Finland shows the rest of the world that even when David has not beaten Goliath, he is strong enough to hold him at bay. *There is nothing, not even an accord with the giant, that is impossible for a united Europe—an accord that he perhaps does not desire . . . but one to which he would resign himself the day he found it to his advantage.* Because the Russia of Stalin is not, like the Germany of Hitler, closed within narrow limits. There remains open to it the Orient, where it would find battlefields of its own size less cluttered with cathedrals and with old villages than those which we could offer him and which have already served so much.

In private conversations with men of the political Right, both here and in Italy, oddly enough from those whose positions entitle them to be considered unswervingly anti-fascist, I have heard intimations of the same theme: the alliance with the Americans is becoming dangerously close—dangerous because it creates the illusion among Americans of good will that loathing of communism and willingness to obstruct it are stronger feelings among the Europeans than the deep conviction that at no cost—none whatsoever—can Europe undertake participation in a third World War. I refer to the Right because the unwillingness of the Left or even the Left-Center to plump completely for the United States is too plain to need comment. It is not that Europeans are anti-American. Rather, it is the universal feeling that if World War III must come, it must take place in Alaska, in Canada, in Asia, in the Americas, anywhere but on this old continent.

On the surface, there is little interest in the events in Berlin, in the talks in Moscow and in the policies of the Pentagon Building; underneath the surface, there is a widespread feeling that though the Americans are the only people in the world who still have money, they are now gambling with a currency that is not theirs alone: with the blood of others. And incidents such as the one I have described—incidents I might not have believed if I had not seen them with my own eyes and heard with my own ears—do not help matters. Perhaps the Thomas committee should screen tourists as well as government employees for un-Americanism. For on the surface there is nothing but friendship for Americans in Western Europe, while underneath there are different sentiments; and the ignorance and folly of today can and are beginning to nullify the good effects of the comradeship in arms of yesterday.

Europeans are beginning to notice that Americans are letting ECA fall into the hands of precisely those persons committed NOT to give them what they most need—a mild and moderate New Deal to remove old social and economic evils, thereby disarming the Communists. Europeans are beginning to feel that behind the Marshall Plan there still exists the Truman Doctrine; that though Americans in authority really want peace, there are other Americans not without authority who are willing to play recklessly and wantonly with the risk of war. On the Right, one of the results is the article by Mauriac: a man of his position can plainly suggest the possibility of a Western Union without and *after* America; he can intimate the chance of a "deal" with Moscow, saying what would make him suspect among some of his fellow Catholics in America—that Stalin is no Hitler. On the Left, a result is the gradual disintegration of the "Third Force."

Paraphrasing Mauriac, there is one thing the people of America should not lose sight of: the Communists in Western Europe have been in retreat for some time, and the danger of a communized Western Europe does not at present frighten Frenchmen or Italians.

Therefore if, at this time, now and this coming winter, we give the Western Europeans reason for fear of us, for doubt and dislike of us, we shall in effect be helping the Communists reform their lines.

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An Editorial

Reprinted from The Advance, Official Organ of THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO:

WE ARE FOR TRUMAN. A careful analysis of the political scene makes our choice a clear one.

Dewey is completely enmeshed in the interests of Big Business and the National Association of Manufacturers. He has said exactly nothing on housing, nothing on price control, and nothing on civil liberties. His mouth-piece, Harold Stassen, speaking with Dewey's full knowledge and approval, endorsed the Taft-Hartley Law. If there ever was any question that the Republican Party stands for big profits and low wages, the 80th Congress has removed the last doubt. The Republican Party stands for special privileges for the few rather than civil rights for all. It stands for low taxes on big incomes and high priced food on the grocery shelf. It stands for the Taft-Hartley strait-jacket on the working people. Dewey cannot disassociate himself from the Republican record. He will not even try to. Dewey can be elected only if we forget what he stands for. The record of the 80th Congress is too fresh in our memories to permit us to forget.

Wallace presents an entirely different problem. He is preaching liberalism as if he had a patent on the word. Yet he represents a threat to liberalism that is second only to the avowed reactionaries supporting Dewey. Whether he knows it or not, or whether he intends it or not, Wallace is doing all that he can to defeat liberals for public office. When the Amalgamated withdrew from the American Labor Party in New York State, we issued a statement which said in part "A third party in 1948 must inevitably play into the hands of labor's enemies. In New York City alone, if it is effective at all, it will guarantee the election of reactionary Republican Congressmen from a number of marginal districts. The same will be true in other parts of the country. This move can only serve the reactionary political and economic interests in this country and it comes at a time when contrary action is so obviously indicated. In our view, the reactionary elements responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act and the inflationary rise in prices should be soundly defeated, not aided and abetted."

Every word of that statement has been underscored by Wallace and his Third Party. Almost anywhere you look among the key areas, whether it be California, Illinois, New York or elsewhere, the same pattern has developed. The Wallace people are concentrating on splitting the liberal vote. In California, Helen Gahagan Douglas and Chet Holifield would be virtually assured of re-election if Wallaceites were not suporting Third Party candidates. In Illinois Wallace cannot take a single vote from Curley Brooks or Governor Green. But his Third Party candidates, who have failed to qualify for a place on the official ballot, are working tirelessly to build up a large write-in vote and thus cut down the vote for Paul Douglas and Adlai Stevenson, both liberals of proven integrity. In Connecticut, Chester Bowles finds his way to the governorship threatened by the Third Party's Thomas Emerson.

And so it goes on down the list of crucial areas where liberals with unblemished records are fighting against reaction. Wallace's candidates work along with the Republicans to reduce the vote for liberal candidates. They know they cannot elect their own people. Yet they do not hesitate to try to wreck the chances of liberal Democrats. To support Wallace is actually to assure the election of Dewey and the re-election of the 80th Congress reactionaries. It is a little late in the day for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with its honorable history of vigorous progressiveness, to trot down that sorry path.

We have a real choice in 1948. It is a choice between effective inflation control on the one hand and boom and bust on the other. It is a choice between a Taft-Hartley blanket smothering every union right on the one hand and protection for labor's right to organize and bargain on the other. It is a choice between a civil rights program which Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says is the most advanced ever offered by an American President, and enthronement of special privilege.

We do not pretend that we have approved of all of Mr. Truman's actions either on personnel or policy matters. Neither did we approve of all of Roosevelt's. But Truman has increasingly demonstrated the political daring, the flexibility and the devotion to principle that, over the long run, can mean a growth of real democracy in this country. His calling of the special session of Congress was an act of imaginative daring in the best Rooseveltian tradition. His quick recognition of Israel was a dramatic shift in approach that indicated a capacity to recognize bad policy and correct it just as Roosevelt did more than once. His position on Taft-Hartley and on civil liberties has carried the banner of high principle far beyond the requirements of immediate political expediency. We like his program. As between Truman and Dewey there can be no problem in choosing. The real tragedy of Wallace is that he has removed himself not only from the Democratic Party at a crucial time when every progressive influence was needed, but also from his real friends who would have welcomed a constructive opportunity to have him pull in harness with us.

The common people and the workers of America can win in November only if Truman is elected. And Truman can win only if the working people register and vote. Wallace's candidacy makes the fight harder. But it will take more than the Wallaceites and Dewey combined to kill the liberal spirit of America. We, along with CIO, are committing ourselves to Truman. And events are committing him to us. It is to his credit that big business, the real estate lobby, the Dixiecrats and the labor baiters want no part of him. The labor movement is the only major force that is with him. His election in November will provide America with a President and a Congress committed to the common people by the strongest obligations that a democracy can impose—the obligation to heed the will and serve the needs of the majority.

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Sold out 80TH CONGRESS

THE TEST this November for those who aspire to rule America is not what they promise *to* the people, but what they have done *for* the people. It is the performance, not of some candidates or states, but of the *national* parties in our *national* legislature. The issue of 1948 is the record of the 80th Congress.

Governor Dewey may differ—in silence—with this assertion: he cannot deny it. *Business Week* declares:

> The work Dewey would lay out for Congress would mesh pretty well with Congress' own approach. Dewey brings from Albany a pro-business legislative record that jibes with the program of the 80th Congress.
>
> Take taxes for example: Dewey put through an across-the-board cut in income tax that went as deep as 50 percent. He raised excise taxes on cigarettes and liquor; lowered corporation taxes.
>
> At first glance, the New York State housing program looks like an exception to Dewey's pro-business record. But actually Dewey inherited an authorized $300 million program. . . . Dewey himself gave silent approval to Congress' decision against federal public housing.

The story of the 80th Congress is partly the story of the struggle waged by a courageous minority of liberal Democrats and a few liberal Republicans. The record of the 80th Congress is largely the record of its rulers, the Tory Alliance of the Republicans, and the Dixiecrats. This alliance, based on a bargain by which the Republicans shelved civil-rights legislation and the Dixiecrats betrayed the Democratic Party, gave the Republicans a working majority in the 79th Congress. In the 80th Congress, where they formed an actual majority, the alliance gave the Republicans the *two-thirds* majority necessary to override the presidential veto, Truman's one recourse against reaction in the Congress, which he used 62 times on major legislative issues.

The 80th Congress met during two critical years. Its great achievement was passage of the Marshall Plan, which laid the basis for world recovery. It approved the plan, thanks to Senator Vandenberg's victory over his isolationist and imperialist colleagues, but the victory was so narrow that it casts dark shadows over the hopes for ERP in future years.

The 80th Congress also authorized a unified armed force. It extended weakened but still helpful rent controls. It increased benefits for veterans and for child and maternal welfare. Dragged back to Washington by Truman to meet in Special Session, it curbed installment buying, let in a

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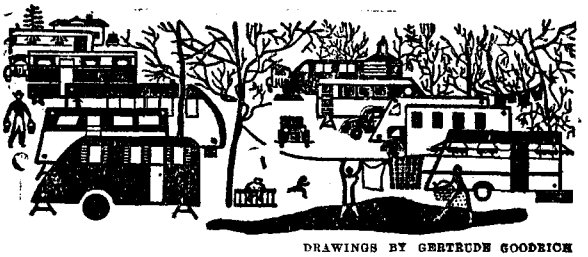
preferred list of refugees, and loaned funds to the UN.

The 80th Congress acted with extraordinary blindness. It authorized a 14.3 billion-dollar defense program requiring record production of light and heavy metals. Yet it robbed the light-metal industries of needed electricity by killing public power projects, and refused to expand or even allocate steel supplies. It authorized federal expenditures of $38 billion a year. Yet it robbed the government of $5 billion by forcing through tax relief for the wealthy. It freed monopoly and conscripted youth.

High prices, no houses, hard labor, hysteria, sum up the domestic record of the 80th Congress. Here is the story:



DRAWINGS BY GERTRUDE GOODRICH

Sold out: NO HOUSES

"WHEN WE THINK of the America of tomorrow we think of many things," President Roosevelt said at Soldier Field in 1944. "One of them is American homes . . . well-built homes with electricity and plumbing and air and sunlight."

In the America of 1948:

Five million families live in slums, shacks and firetraps.

Three million families live doubled up.

One-third of all families live in homes without minimum standards of decency.

There are twice as many marriages as new houses each year.

And, three years after the war's end, Congress has passed no comprehensive program to ease the housing crisis.

For this, one man in Congress is largely responsible—the Republican chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Jesse Wolcott of Michigan, backed by the private-housing lobbies, and fully supported by Speaker Joseph Martin (R, Mass.), Majority Leader Charles Halleck (R, Ind.) and Rules Committee Chairman Leo Allen (R, Ill.).

One comprehensive housing bill was brought before the 80th Congress —the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill. It was sabotaged, blocked and finally done to death by Jesse Wolcott and his friends.

The T-E-W bill brought the entire federal housing program under a single permanent housing agency. It created a federal research program. It provided financing aids for private housing, including low-cost rental housing and federal aid for slum clearance and public housing for low-income families. With new private construction beyond the reach of 80 percent of Americans, public housing became the heart of the T-E-W bill.

The bill should have become law in 1946. In committee hearings a typical witness, the City Attorney of Milwaukee, told the Senate, "This is the most important bill before you. The very solvency of the cities of this country is at stake."

At stake also were the swollen profits of the real-estate lobbies. On the demand of almost all citizens' groups, the T-E-W bill raced through the Senate without even a record vote. But in the House, the lobbyists caught up to it. Charles E. Stewart, lobbyist for the National Association of Real Estate Boards, recalled later that the Republicans on the House Banking and Currency Committee succeeded in blocking it in committee "after we raised hell about it." So the bill died in the 79th Congress.

In the 80th Congress the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency again reported the T-E-W bill favorably. But this time, with the NAREB, the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation, the US Savings and Loan League, and the National Association of Home Builders pouring in millions to block it, the Republican leadership in the Senate stalled. It created a Joint Committee on Housing to find out whether there was a housing shortage.

Once again, after a full year's useless delay, the T-E-W bill reached the Senate floor. Senator Cain (R, Wash.) moved to strike out public housing. His motion was narrowly defeated. Once again, on April 23, 1948, the bill went to the House.

And once again Wolcott killed it. He declared that the two-year-long hearings of the Senate amounted to a "superficial consideration." He started a filibuster in the form of testimony by the real-estate lobbies.

Meanwhile Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) had started a petition to force the bill to the House floor.

When 120 signatures were gathered by June 3, Speaker Martin got scared. In a successful effort to prevent further signatures he announced that "housing legislation" was a "must" before congressional adjournment. Wolcott agreed, and Americans, suspecting no trickery, awaited action.

Suddenly, at the conclusion of the hearings, Wolcott announced that he had a housing bill of his own. It contained parts of T-E-W, *plus* aids to the lobbies in accelerated amortization and *minus* provisions for public housing, slum clearance, farm housing and housing research. Without holding hearings on the measure, he called his committee together to force his bill through.

His trick was too blatant. Three Republicans joined 11 Democrats on the committee, which voted 14 to 13 to report the Wolcott bill, with public

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housing, slum clearance, farm housing and housing research added.

With Wolcott prostrate, Leo Allen and the Rules Committee moved in and saved the lobbies. This committee, without real legislative purpose, reports only those bills which it believes to be good for the people. It decided by a vote of six [Allen (R, Ill.), Wadsworth (R, N. Y.), Chenoweth (R, Colo.), Rizley (R, Okla.), Havenner (R, Ind.), Rich (R, Pa.)] to two [Smith (D, Va.) and Sabath (D, Ill.)], that the House could not be trusted to vote on a general housing bill.

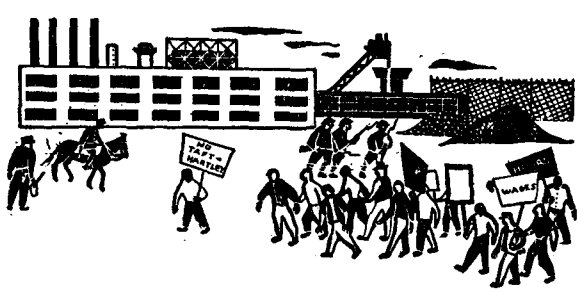
Then Wolcott produced a new bill. The Republican leadership cracked the whip, the bill passed under suspension of the rules and without debate. It went to the Senate, and there, thanks to Senator Ellender (D, La.), sponsor of the T-E-W bill, it died. Frantic to save face, and for the sake of campaign oratory, the Republicans of the 80th Congress passed a new bill to aid the mortgage companies, and set sail for their convention, where they declared their undying determination to build low-cost housing for Americans.

President Truman called them back. He reminded them that if they refused to act, the 81st Congress would have to start all over again, causing a year's delay. He called for passage of T-E-W.

On Friday, August 6, beneath packed galleries, the Senate met to consider a housing bill. McCarthy, justifying the ditching of the T-E-W bill, told the Senators that Wolcott would not accept any bill with provisions for public housing or housing research. "Then," cried Senator Tobey, "the will of the people and the democratic processes are set at naught."

With McCarthy in headlong retreat, two Senators—Ives of New York, the nominee of Governor Dewey, and Taft, the sponsor of T-E-W—gave the bill its death blow. Public housing, said Taft, "can be considered more thoroughly next winter." The votes of 37 Republicans and 11 Dixiecrats passed the McCarthy bill.

This bill makes no provision for low rent, public housing, slum clearance or urban redevelopment. It provides no special aids for farm housing and includes only limited provision for research. It is, in Tobey's words, "a snare and a delusion, a hollow shell . . . a phony housing bill." It is law now, and five million veterans are still searching for homes as new construction averages $20 a room a month, which is 60 percent more than can be afforded by all urban families.



Sold out: HARD LABOR

WHEN President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, he called it a "clear threat to the successful working of our democratic society." The threat, now law, is real and imminent. Fully exploited by anti-labor corporations and fully backed by an anti-labor government, the Taft-Hartley law can destroy trade unionism in America.

HARASSING UNIONS. One way is to drive the unions into bankruptcy. The law, as President Truman showed, gives employers "the means to engage in endless litigation draining the energy and resources of unions in court actions, even though the particular charges were groundless. . . . At the same time it 'exposes' unions to suits for acts of violence, wildcat strikes and other actions none of which were authorized or ratified by them." One victim of this technique was the International Typographical Union, whose defense of its rights against the Taft-Hartley law has cost it $1.8 million.

WEAKENING UNIONS. The law, the President showed further, permits an employer "to dismiss a man on the pretext of a slight infraction of shop rules, even though his real motive was to discriminate against this employee for union activity." Moreover, it frees the employer to hire an enemy of labor. At best the union can bring him within its membership, where he can carry out attacks upon it without fear of expulsion or reprisal.

BREAKING STRIKES. The law revives the injunctions of our worst anti-labor days. It discourages collective bargaining by forcing workers to vote on an employer's final offer. It may have the ultimate effect of prohibiting strikes in major industries by the reissuance of injunctions.

BUSTING UNIONS. The law legalizes union busting by many methods.

Prohibiting the closed shop is one such method. In all journeymen trades, where workers move from job to job, the closed shop is the basis of unionism and of sound industrial relations and efficiency. In the building trades the closed shop was the means of maintaining a skilled labor force available to many employers for temporary work. In the printing trades it was the one protection and incentive for the long established apprenticeship method of raising standards of work. In the maritime trades the closed shop—the hiring hall—was the great achievement of the unions and the means of ending the shape up, with its kickbacks to foremen, and the crimp joints with their violent shanghaiing of sailors. Now all these industries face chaos and industrial warfare.

Prohibiting all secondary boycotts is a second method by which the act legalizes union busting. In Truman's words, it deprives "workers of the

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power to meet the competition of goods produced under sweatshop conditions" by probably the one action which protects employers and unions alike against runaway, non-union shops. It exposes union members who refuse to handle struck work by mandatory injunctions, suits for breach of contract, damage suits by third parties, prosecution for unfair labor practices and loss of work without even an adequate appeal under law. So it forces union members to scab against other members not only of their own union, but of their own local. This is what Justices Holmes and Brandeis once said reminded them of involuntary servitude.

Prohibiting jurisdictional strikes is a third method of legalizing union busting. By forbidding any strike called to compel an employer to assign work to a particular trade or class, the law can force union workers to stand by while non-union men are brought into the same plant or project to threaten their standards and their security.

Penalizing strikers is another method. A worker cannot be fired for striking under the law. But an anti-labor employer, by precipitating a strike, can bring in replacements and call an election in which the striking workers are disenfranchised and the replacements vote in a company union.

Outlawing unions. Forcing union leaders to sign non-Communist affidavits is one more major weapon of union busting. Major unions, the Steelworkers, the Miners, the UE, the Printers, the Musicians and the maritime trades have refused to comply often as a matter of principle or in order to test the constitutionality of the law. They are faced with destruction when employers refuse to bargain with them, and their right to represent the workers is denied.

"This bill," Taft admitted, "is not a milk toast bill. It covers about three-quarters of the matters pressed upon us very strenuously by the employers." These employers—by no means all employers—are the same group of extremists and gamblers who forced the destruction of price controls. They have never given up their old dream of destroying the trade unions. Only 1948 has not been the proper time. This has been a year of record profits and mounting prices, when labor was scarce and every employer worked to keep production up by labor peace while the going was good. But the inflation these employers forced is leading to depression. When depression comes the inefficient producer will remember one way to stave off bankruptcy—breaking unions, slashing wages. With five million, ten million unemployed workers waiting at the factory gates each morning the temptation becomes irresistible. Already the old enemies of labor—Allis Chalmers, Fruehoff Trailer, Remington Rand, the West Coast Waterfront employers—are turning back to their old ways.

The employers and the Republicans have had a strong interest in holding the Taft-Hartley law in the background until after November 2. Yet it has been made clear that a Republican victory will lead to a strengthening of the law by bringing the unions under the anti-trust laws, permitting employers to initiate injunctions against unions, and prohibiting industrywide bargaining. This last amendment, defeated in the Senate by a vote of 43-42, alone can mean the death of the unions. For it paralyzes an international while its weakest local accepts low pay scales which undermine all their contracts.

The force of the Taft-Hartley law lies of course in its administration. The Democratic Administration has refused to investigate or prosecute the actions of thousands of employers and unions forced to bypass or violate the unworkable law in order to exist. A government bent on curbing labor can carry the act's weapons to the smallest corners of America, engage the largest union in endless litigation, and break it into a thousand different ways.

A Republican administration has the power and the will to curb labor. It has neither the ability nor the will to prevent depression. Depression plus Taft-Hartley plus a Republican administration can mean death for our unions. That is why organized labor is working for a Democratic Congress.

Sold out: HIGH PRICES

PRICES have soared to record heights this autumn: inflation is in full force.

Inflation was no accident: it was brought about by the destruction of OPA.

Who killed OPA? The 80th Congress can answer for itself. "I do not need to remind the Association," Senator Kenneth Wherry, Republican Whip, told the Lumbermen's Association on February 5, 1948, "that it was the Republican leadership in the House and Senate that was responsible for ending OPA."

Wherry was boasting about 1946. Americans started that year with $131 billion in earnings, and $195 billion in savings to spend. Only there were very few goods to spend the money on. Reconversion was just beginning.

Reconversion hit Americans in different ways.

Farmers were well off, with net incomes three times prewar levels.

Labor was hard hit. It struggled to make up for loss of income through downgrading and elimination of overtime.

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Industry was never as rich. It paid record bonuses, laid aside huge sums and still showed profits of $12.8 billion; $4.4 billion over 1929, when boom led to bust.

Twelve million veterans were returning in 1946 without funds, but full of hope. Europe was starving and needed cheap American supplies.

But, blinded by greed, American industry set out to destroy price controls, promising Americans that without price controls production would rapidly rise and prices would fall. It was the most selfish, shortsighted and destructive gamble industry ever took. The conservatives of the 80th Congress gave it the force of law.

In committee hearings the Congress prepared the death of OPA, accepting as gospel the promises of the lobbyists.

What promises! "If Congress were to abandon the OPA tomorrow," H. E. Michl of the Textile Institute told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, "cotton textile prices would decline immediately."

If Congress killed OPA, Richard Colgan of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association added, "the flow of lumber would be so great so soon that there would be a competitive price on the market."

Abolish price control, John T. Taylor of the Joint Livestock Committee told the Congress, "and the actual price of meat will be lowered. Our abundant supply will see to that."

The abolition of price controls, John E. Jaeger, President of the National Association of Retail Grocers, echoed, "will benefit the consumer by making available food at reasonable prices."

"The danger of inflation," NAM chairman Robert E. Wason testified, "comes from OPA." "If OPA is finally dead," he added, "women will use the canned meats and other goods they have on their shelves to see them through any temporary period of price rises. . . . Prices of automobiles may be expected to reach normal within six months while rents might take at least a year."

"Remove price controls on manufactured goods," the NAM cried in a million-dollar advertising campaign, "and production will step up fast. . . . Within a reasonable time prices will adjust themselves naturally."

In February, 1946, John Taber, Republican Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, moved to kill new funds for OPA. His measure—opposed by 98 percent of the Democrats and supported by 85 percent of the Republicans—failed. But price control was doomed. Certain of rising prices, producers hoarded their goods. Black markets thrived. Inflation began to force its way out of its bonds.

Between July, 1945, and July, 1946, the cost of living index rose from 129 to 141 (base 1935-39).

In June, 1946, the Congress garrotted price controls. One hundred and seventy Republicans and 90 Southern Democrats cut the guts out of the price control law and left a worthless husk in a new bill. "I don't think prices will change much if this bill becomes law," Jesse Wolcott, Republican Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, said. In the Senate Robert A. Taft and Kenneth Wherry forced through their amendments, destroying the OPA. "Mr. Bowles has said that if price controls were eliminated the price of meat would go up 50 percent," said Wherry. "Mr. Bowles is trying to scare us! My prediction is that without price control, meat will cost less than today."

"If they [the consumers] think the price is too high today," Taft told the Senate, "they will wait until the price is lower. In many instances they do not have to buy clothing. Suits and other things can be made to last a good deal longer than we thought possible before the war." "I feel," Taft added, "that in time the law of supply and demand will bring prices into line."

The Congress passed its fake price control bill. President Truman vetoed it. "The bill," he said, "continues the government's responsibility to stabilize the economy and destroys the government's power to do so."

Butter soared to a dollar a pound. Twenty-eight basic commodity prices rose by 25 percent.

The Congress passed a new "price control" law. The worst of the wrecking amendments of Taft and Wherry were eliminated. Rents were kept under federal control. "Reasonable profits" were provided for all goods, and a Decontrol Board was empowered to maintain selective price ceilings. The President reluctantly signed the bill, calling it unworkable and warning Congress that he would call it back if inflation developed.

It developed all right. The price of uncontrolled goods soared. The Milk Industry Foundation asked for "coöperation and understanding" from consumers as milk prices rose. On the same day, one company, the National Dairy Products Corporation, announced six months net profits of $12 million. The Decontrol Board tried to hold meats, fats and oils while it let grains and milk go. But hoarders and black market operators held meat from consumers. The Board accepted defeat. On October 19, 1946, all controls were lifted except those on rents, sugar and rice. "The responsibility," Truman said, "rests squarely on a few men in the Congress in the service of selfish interests."

Between June 28 and October 24 commodity prices rose 31 percent. Meat prices rose six percent in the ten days after decontrol.

The President called the Congress into special session. He asked for passage of a ten-point program, including restriction of credit and speculation and power to allocate, to ration and to set price and wage ceilings. Jesse Wolcott, instead, prepared a bill suspending the anti-trust laws and authorizing the President to consult with representatives of industry, business and agriculture about voluntary agreements not including agreements to restrict prices. Before departing, the Congress gave the President the power to conserve the use of grains by distillers and to keep export controls.

By January, 1948, the cost of living rose to 169.

Corporations ended the year with net profits of $17 billion.

Average net earnings declined.

Forty million Americans went into

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debt trying to maintain their living standards.

Public assistance expenditures rose 16 percent.

On January 7, 1948, the 80th Congress opened. "Inflation," President Truman told the Congress, "is undermining the living standards of millions of families. Food costs too much. Housing has reached fantastic price levels. Schools and hospitals are in financial distress . . . we must stop the spiral of inflation."

Truman presented a new program; the Congress refused to act.

Between January and July the cost of living rose five points to 174.

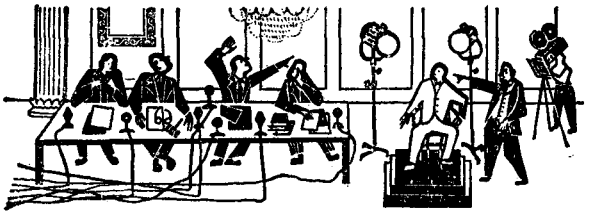
The President called the special session. "If we should bring on another great depression . . . by failing to control high prices," he told the Congress on July 28, "the world's hope for lasting peace would vanish." He showed that failure to act would mean eight months' delay. He asked for legislation limiting excess profits, restricting credits and speculation, strengthening rent controls, and granting the government power of allocation, rationing and price control.

The 80th Congress restricted credits and adjourned. Prices went on rising.

Here is the full story from the time of President Roosevelt's "Hold the Line" order. The period 1935-1939 is the base.

	JULY 1943	JULY 1946	JULY 1948
FOOD	139	166	217
CLOTHING	129	159	197
RENT	108	109	117
HOUSE FURNISHINGS	126	158	196
COST OF LIVING	124	141	174

Price rises have cost Americans $35 billion since the death of OPA, twice the total cost of the five-year Marshall Plan, $1,000 for every American family. On inflation, the record of the Administration is clear. The Dixiecrats, and the Republicans, champions of "sound money" when McKinley beat Bryan, and enemies of the "inflationary" New Deal, bear the blame.



Sold out : HYSTERIA

THE PRESIDENT'S Committee on Civil Rights reported during the 80th Congress that "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person . . . it must be respected and safeguarded." The additional safeguards it proposed were sent to Congress by President Truman in the strongest civil-rights program ever recommended by the Executive.

Sam Hobbs (D, Ala.) protested to the House. "We love our nigras!" he said. "Both parties," complained Ed Gossett (D, Tex.), "get down on their bellies and crawl in the dirt and kiss the feet of the organized minorities of the big pivotal states."

But he was wrong. In the 1944 platform, the Republican Party promised to abolish the poll tax. But it allowed three anti-poll-tax bills passed by the House to die in the Senate. The platform continued: "We pledge the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission." Not one FEPC bill was allowed to reach the Senate floor. The platform added: "We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts on behalf of its early enactment." But 17 anti-lynching bills were killed in committee, and the Dixiecrats were permitted to filibuster the Special Session to death. Instead liberty was attacked.

The Administration itself issued a Loyalty Order, arbitrarily branded scores of organizations as "subversive," purged its strategic departments without adequate hearings and added to the hysteria by deportation proceedings. Yet the Loyalty Order was administered with fairness and restraint. Two million civil servants were investigated; 438 were found to be of questionable loyalty and were allowed to resign. They were fully protected from all publicity or prejudice. Truman and Secretary of Commerce Harriman precipitated a major battle with Congress by courageously refusing to turn the loyalty records over to the witch-hunters.

But the Thomas Committee, with reckless disregard for the constitutional separation of powers in government and constitutional rights, blackened the name of government and hounded innocent men. In an investigation of espionage properly condemned as a red herring by the President to divert attention from the broken promises of the Congress, the committee seized the functions of a grand jury which for two years had met, exhausted the evidence before it and refused to return an indictment.

The committee produced no new names and no significant new evidence. But it destroyed the reputations of 41 men and denied them their constitutional right to a speedy and fair trial. Then it swept on to smear the atomic scientists. "We have not been able to maintain the proper conditions for best scientific work," Truman admitted on September 14. "This failure has grave implications for our national security and welfare." He laid the failure to the "reckless and unfair attacks" of "politicians . . . creating a totalitarian climate" for scientists and driving them out of government work.

The Thomas Committee failed only in its efforts to pass the repressive Mundt-Nixon bill, which Governor Dewey once called "harmless" and "swell."

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The ILGWU *in the* LABOR-LIBERAL FRONT

INDEPENDENT political action is not new in the ILGWU design for living. Since its earliest days, our union has fought side by side with all those elements in our national life which stood for genuine liberalism and for the economic betterment of the masses of our people.

Yet, while we have always believed in independent political action, our position invariably has been that only political efforts rooted within organized labor were entitled to our support. Time and again, we rejected as spurious political ventures which were not grounded in American realities and spurned premature third-party schemes which would retard rather than advance the cause of independent labor politics.

This year, together with nearly all organized labor, we are repudiating the Wallace third-party candidacy for the same basic reason: We are convinced that, despite efforts to parade the Wallace political outfit as a "peace movement" and as a "100 per cent American" party, the men behind the Wallace candidacy do not believe in the American way of life; that the Communists and fellow travelers who are keeping it alive are no more "men of peace" than are the men in the Kremlin who are directing worldwide Communist infiltration and divide-and-rule strategy.

UNION men and women have had a chance to observe the Republican-ruled 80th Congress in action. They watched that Congress defeat or pigeonhole every anti-inflation measure, every real effort in behalf of Federal public housing, price controls or rationing, expansion of Social Security, anything, in fact, the reactionary GOP bosses or the lobbies were opposed to.

Labor is also well aware that Candidate Dewey, like his party, looks upon the Wagner Act as "class legislation." Small wonder the Republicans describe the Taft-Hartley Act in their Philadelphia platform as one of the "solid achievements" of the 80th Congress. The Taft-Hartley Act, which supposedly "amends" the Wagner Act actually strikes at its very vitals.

IT IS no secret that the GOP top command has lost much of its early confidence of an easy triumph in November. The agony of high prices coupled with the rising swell of resentment against the do-nothing record of the 80th Congress have sloughed off considerably the Republican swagger. The Republicans, however, figure they have an unbeatable ace in the hole.

The Henry Wallace candidacy, they hope, will splinter off enough of the independent and liberal vote in some key urban areas to insure the election of Dewey and the re-election of a duplicate 80th Congress. It will also enable them, they believe, to defeat every important liberal Congressman as a result of this unwritten alliance with "Progressive" candidates.

TO OVERCOME this grave menace to the labor-liberal political front, it is quite evident that the organized labor movement—AFL, CIO, and railroad labor—will need the undivided, wholehearted cooperation from all liberals and true progressive elements untainted with Communism in every part of the land. The independent and liberal voters who in recent years have decided the outcome in our national elections, indeed, face a heavy responsibility in this campaign.

The liberals of America must disassociate themselves, by word and action, from the Communist-nurtured Wallace adventure. Wallace, it is patent, is not out to win anything; he is out to defeat Truman. At most, Wallace may succeed in helping the Communists to build up a camouflaged skeleton of a national party patterned after their New York ALP. That's exactly what the Kremlin wants; that's what the American Communists expect to get out of their alliance with Wallace.

THE LABOR-LIBERAL front will support Truman in this election because he is running on a platform which equals any labor program for social and economic progress.

Truman's fight, barring a few early missteps, has been against the sinister forces which seek to curb the legitimate activities of the trade unions.

Truman's forthright postion on civil liberties, his fight for inflation controls and his unflagging opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act count heavily in his favor.

We shall mobilize our resources in every available Congressional district to support liberal candidates. But it is not enough to say merely that we shall try to elect a better Congress. All-out support for President Truman is a potent factor in the drive to change the ugly complexion of the last Congress.

Our goal, admittedly, is difficult. We can, nevertheless, win the approval of the American voters—wage and salary earners, white-collar employees and the small people in every walk of life—if we present our case and issues before them with clarity, candor and faith.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

1948 CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

David Dubinsky, Chairman

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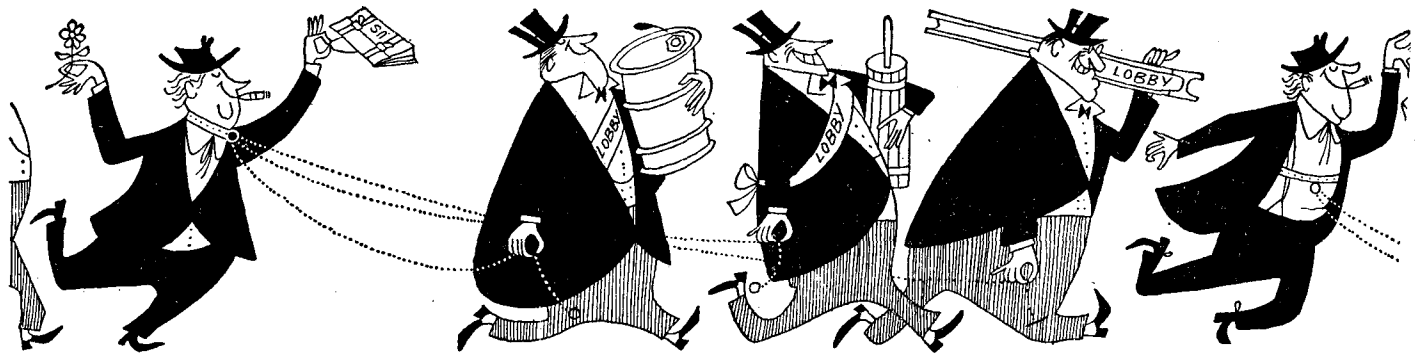

DRAWING BY ROY DOTY

Thirteen hundred registered lobbyists—two for every legislator—worked on the 80th Congress. One quarter of the 1,000 organizations registered as pressure groups spent $5 million in 1947, and $3.5 million this year, up to the Special Session, to influence legislation. They did influence it—the laws passed by the 80th Congress followed exactly the legislative objectives of the NAM and the other major lobbies.

"Republicans," said John L. Lewis, "stay bought." The amount—over $20 million—for the lobbyists of the 80th Congress was high. But judging by the following examples, it was a good bargain:

WOOL. The special treatment wool growers won in the price support bill this Congress passed for their benefit encouraged all the other special interest groups represented in Washington to rush in with "grab" bills of their own.

When President Truman vetoed the first version of the "protective tariff" wool bill, the National Wool Growers' Association, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Grange spent additional thousands of dollars to lobby through another, only slightly less noxious, draft, which will enable the wool trust to import foreign wool at low prices and at the same time permit manufacturers to charge the consumer high prices for all wool products. The king pin of the wool lobby, Byron Wilson, who knows the Capital from 20 years of uninterrupted special pleading, boasted to reporters that Senator Robert Taft (R, Ohio) and Majority Leader Charles Halleck (R, Ind.) were his mainstays in steering the bill through.

Wilson won allies both from the regular farm bloc and from the old-time isolationists. Representative Stephen Pace (D, Ga.) made no bones about why he supported the wool-grab bill: "So far as I know, there is not a sheep living in the third congressional district of Georgia. I have utterly no concern in the personal welfare of any constituent who is a producer of wool. But . . . I do not feel that I have any right to ask the Congress to do any more for the cotton producer, for the tobacco producer . . . than the wool producers have to ask the Congress to do for commodities of the Great West."

In his veto message President Truman warned that to set up the additional trade barriers provided for in the wool bill "at the very moment when this government is taking part in a conference at Geneva to reduce trade barriers . . . would be interpreted around the world as a first step on that same road to economic isolationism which we traveled after the First World War with such disastrous consequences." The Republican Congress was not moved.

NATURAL GAS. Representative Ross Rizley (R, Okla.) is a utility lawyer whose clients include three of the biggest natural-gas companies—Cities Service Oil Company, Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Company, and Republic Natural Gas Company. Rizley and Senator E. H. Moore (R, Okla.) introduced a bill to cut down the Federal Power Commission's authority over natural gas and to require the Commission to revise its rate-making formula. Cost to consumers would have been some $56 million the first year. Pressed by the Independent Natural Gas Association lobby and other gas interests, the House passed the Moore-Rizley Bill. It was killed in Senate committee. But Rizley will try again.

OIL. Six different Congresses have debated the ownership of America's tidelands-oil deposits, but it remained for the 80th to get down to hard work on the matter. The Supreme Court has

CONGRESS

decided that under existing law ownership of the rich coastal shelf rests with the federal government. So the great oil companies, aided by a weird collection of allies, set about to rewrite the law, passing ownership along free to individual states which are notoriously easier for big corporations to control.

Some of the allies who rallied to help the oil interests were Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., Harold Stassen, the US Chamber of Commerce and the US Wholesale Grocers' Association. More powerful friends, however, were the governments of 18 states which entered the fight with lobby contributions ranging up to the $16,500 gift of California.

The interest of such oil-right, coastal states as California, Texas and Louisiana in the matter was obvious. More obscure were the motives of such land-locked oil-barren states as Nebraska. As the tidelands campaign gathered force, Nebraska's interest became clearer when it developed that the

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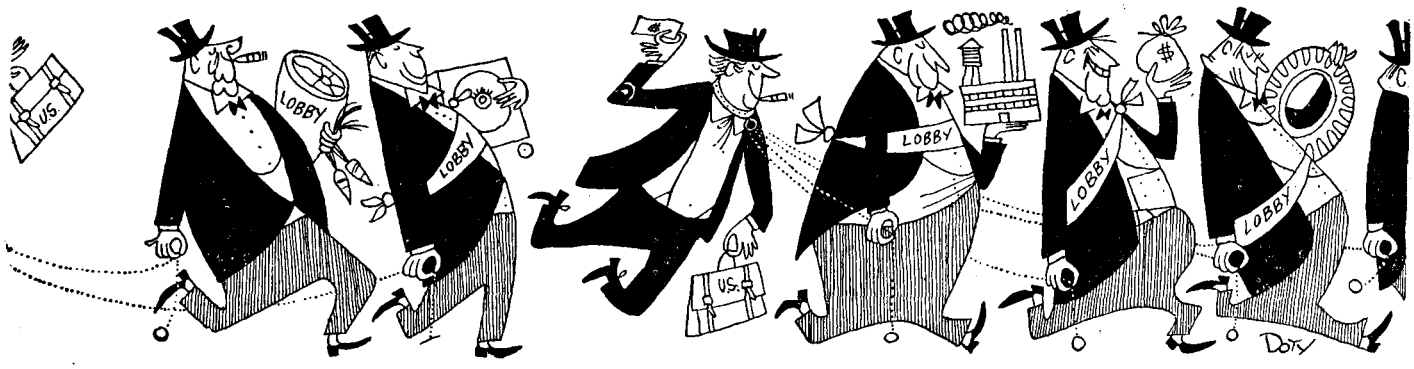

Attorney General of Nebraska, Walter Johnson, is a $1,500-per-month lobbyist in Washington for the oil boys. He is only one of many state officials closely tied in with the deal.

What the oil interests are after is territory estimated conservatively to contain five million barrels of oil but which, in the opinion of Secretary of the Interior Krug, may hold 100 billion barrels. The richness of the prize

BY LOBBY

plus the astuteness of a big-money, politically wise lobby was too much for the 80th Congress to resist. The Tidelands Bill passed, 257 to 29. It died in a Senate committee. But on Republican calendars state control of tidelands oil is merely unfinished business.

POWER. The National Association of Electric Companies pays its chief lobbyist, Purcell L. Smith, $65,000 a year. Stephen M. Walter lobbies for 14 power companies for $50,000. Backed by strong organizations, these two men have the help of utilities, Chambers of Commerce and business groups across America.

Three million people in the Tennessee Valley wanted to start construction this year on a steam plant to assure their power supply. The lobby organized all the forces opposed to public power, and killed the appropriation. It led in forcing a cut of $16 million from Interior Department funds intended for the building of transmission lines and substations of public power projects. New projects under construction were effectively prevented from installing publicly owned transmission lines to bring consumers cheap electricity. Instead, as in the Cañon Ferry Dam in Montana, the Congress appropriated public funds to construct a dam for private utilities.

RAILROADS. The Association of American Railroads maintains one of the most expensive of Washington lobbies. Its general counsel, Judge R. V. Fletcher, is one of the heaviest pressures on Capitol Hill. The Association reported expenses of close to $100,000 for the first six months of this year. For years, the railroad monopolists have fought for legislation which would exempt them from our anti-trust laws. This year, they finally got it in the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, passed by both Houses over the veto of President Truman.

In vetoing the Reed-Bulwinkle bill the President explained that it would weaken our anti-trust laws, give special privileges to one large industry not allowed to others, that it would allow the railroads to set exorbitant rates and discriminate against certain sections of the country in fixing those rates. The transportation monopoly, through a hierarchy of associations like the AAR, and in combination with other industrial monopolies such as cement and oil, has long rigged transportation prices. Truman added: "The arbitrary rail rate structure established by the illicit monopoly has prevented the Southern and Western regions from developing competitive industries." The passage of Reed-Bulwinkle, as Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge told Congress last year, "legalizes the present unlawful domination and control over the nation's competitive economy possessed by the AAR and its industrial allies."

TAXES. Not since the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act has a congressional finance measure been so much the work of outsiders as was the 1948 tax law. A 10-man "Advisory Committee" appointed by Representative Knutson (R, Minn.) to "study" taxes for his powerful Ways and Means Committee was the real architect of this present law.

With the one exception of AFL vice-president Matthew Woll, Knutson's committee was big business from top to bottom. Its chairman, Roswell Magill, is a partner in the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore. Its other members are such "sound" businessmen as: John W. Hanes, finance chairman of the Hearst Corporation and director of the Tax Foundation, a high-class pressure group for lower taxes; and J. Cheever Cowdin of Universal Pictures, the former chairman of the NAM's Committee on Government Finances.

All the resources of the US Chamber of Commerce, the NAM, and every trade association lobby in Washington went into corraling votes for the Magill-Knutson Bill when it was ready. Knutson persisted over presidential vetoes.

Thanks to the lobby's efforts, families with incomes of $2,400 per year or less have an increase of 3 percent in their spendable income this year; families in the $10,000 bracket will have 8 percent more to spend; the $20,000 a year class get to keep over 15 percent more; and those whose incomes range from $100,000 to $1,000,000 are from 48-65 percent better off in terms of spendable income.

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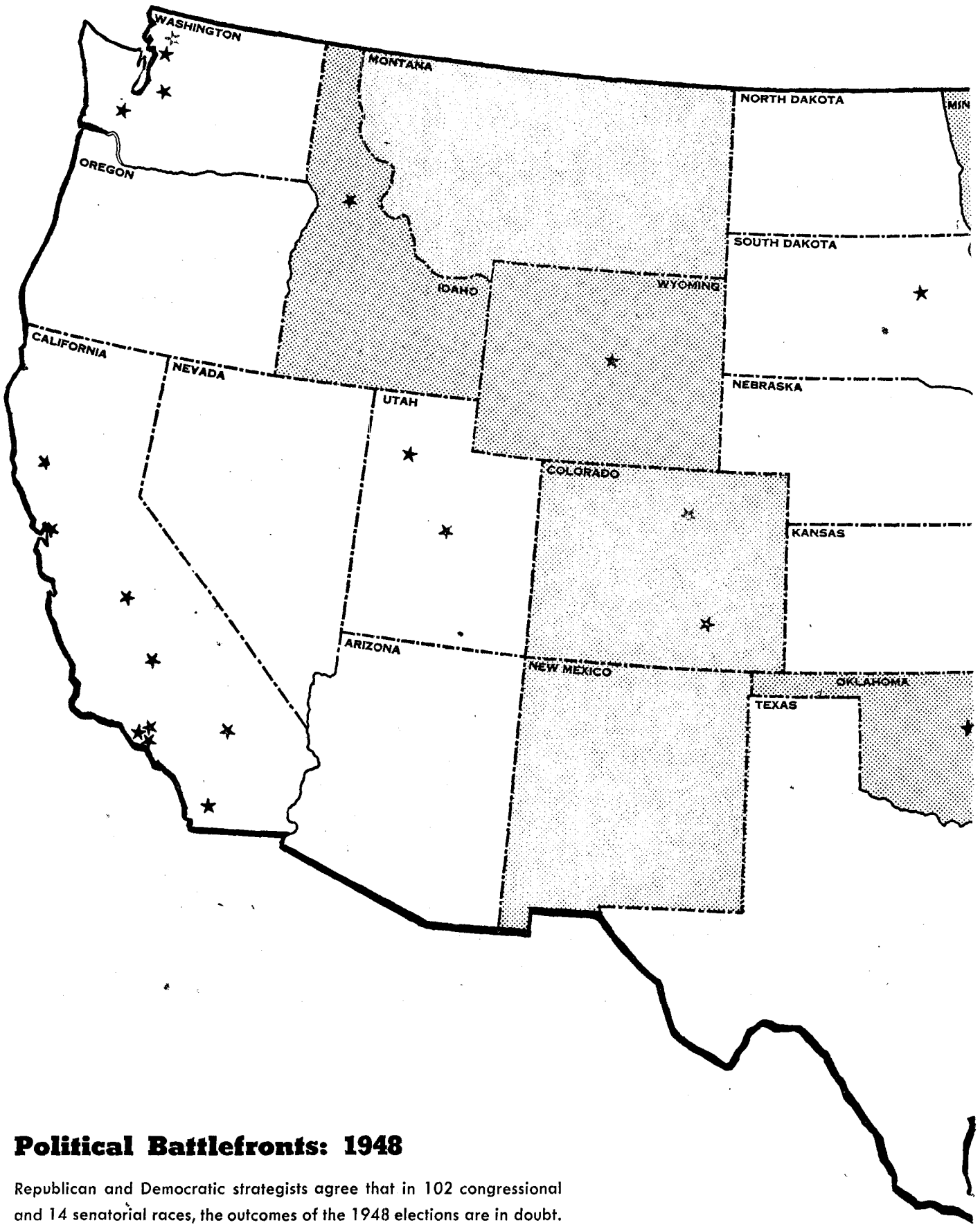

Political Battlefronts: 1948

Republican and Democratic strategists agree that in 102 congressional and 14 senatorial races, the outcomes of the 1948 elections are in doubt. The above map shows these areas, on which the character of the 81st Congress depends. A detailed key follows on page 22.

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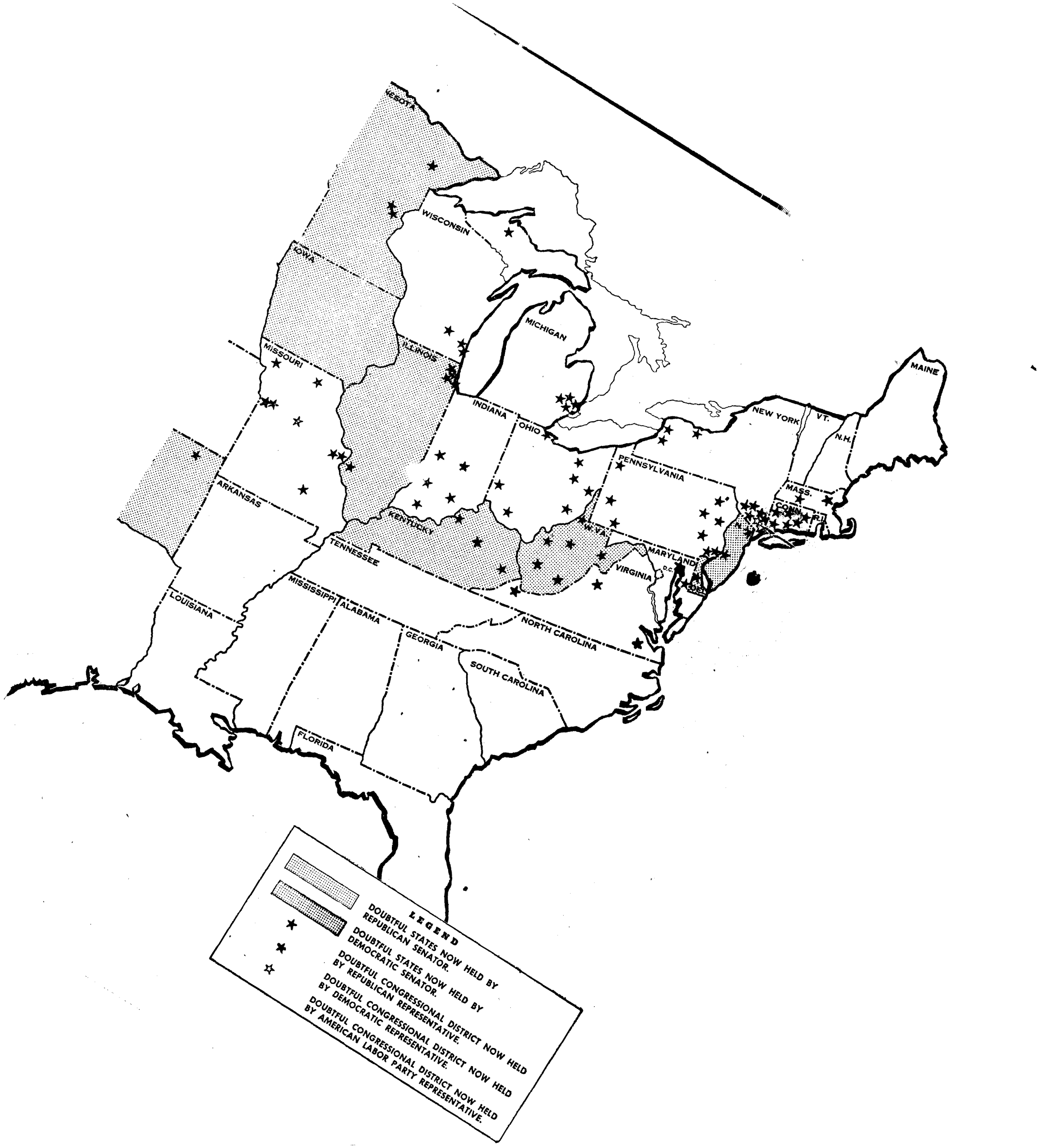

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Key to Map

The stars (★) and shadings on the map preceding this page indicate the location of the districts (numerals) listed below. The names of Republican incumbents appear below in ***bold italic*** type; those of Democratic incumbents in light type. A dagger (†) after any district indicates that there is a Progressive Party candidate entered in the race this year.

A triangle (△) beside the name of any incumbent indicates that he has voted for the people's interest on 80 percent or more of the roll calls included in the *NR* voting charts of this Congress (pp. 25, 26, 27, 29).

Doubtful House Districts

CALIFORNIA: 1. Lea†; **4.** Havenner†△; **9. *Gearhart*†; 13. *Poulson*†; 14.** Douglas†△; **16. *Jackson*†; 21.** Sheppard†△; **23. *Fletcher*†**

COLORADO: 1. Carroll△; **3. *Chenoweth***

CONNECTICUT: 1. *Miller; 2. Seely-Brown; 3. Foote; 4. Lodge; 5. Patterson;* (AL)* *Sadlak*

DELAWARE: (AL) *Boggs*

IDAHO: 1. *Goff*

*(AL) = Congressman-at-large

ILLINOIS: 1. Dawson†△; **3. *Busbey; 4.*** Gorski△; **9. *Twyman; 22. McMillen***

INDIANA: 6. *Johnson; 7. Landis; 8. Mitchell; 9. Wilson;* 11. Ludlow†△

KENTUCKY: 3. *Morton*†; 6. Chapman; **7. *Meade***

MARYLAND: 1. *Miller;* 4. Fallon†

MASSACHUSETTS: 2. *Clason;* 4. Donohue

MICHIGAN: 12. *Bennett;* 13. *Coffin;* 14. *Youngblood;* 15. Dingell△; **16.** Lesinski△

MINNESOTA: 3. *MacKinnon;* 4. *Devitt;* 8. Blatnik△

MISSOURI: 1. *Arnold;* 2. *Schwabe;* 3. *Cole;* 4. Bell; **5. *Reeves;* 8. *Banta;* 11. *Bakewell*†; 12. *Ploeser*†**

NEW JERSEY: 4. *Mathews*†; 10. *Hartley*

NEW YORK: 11. Heffernan†△; **13.** O'Toole†△; **18.** Marcantonio (ALP)△; **21. *Javits*△; 23.** Lynch△; **24.** Isacson (ALP)△; **26. *Potts*†; 40. *Keating;* 44. *Butler;* 43. *Elsaesser***

OHIO: 3. *Burke;* 6. *McCowen;* 9. *Ramey;* 14. Huber△; **15. *Griffiths;* 16. *Garson;* 18. *Lewis***

OKLAHOMA: 1. *Schwabe;* 5. Monroney

PENNSYLVANIA: 2. *McGarvey;* 4. *Maloney*†; 10. *Scoblick;* 13. *Muhlenberg;* 23. *Crow;* 11. *Jenkins;* 29. *McDowell;* 20. Walter; **28. *Kearns***

SOUTH DAKOTA: 1. *Mundt*

UTAH: 1. Granger△; **2. *Dawson***

VIRGINIA: 9. Flannagan; **2.** Hardy; **7.** Harrison

WASHINGTON: 1. *Jones;* 2. Jackson†△; **3. *Mack;* 6. *Tollefson***

WEST VIRGINIA: 1. *Love;* 2. *Snyder;* 3. *Rohrbough;* 4. *Ellis;* 5. Kee△; **6.** Hedrick

WISCONSIN: 2. *Davis*†; 4. *Brophy*†; 5. *Kersten*

WYOMING: (AL) *Barrett*

Doubtful Senate Seats

MINNESOTA: *Ball*†; ILLINOIS: *Brooks*†; DELAWARE: *Buck;* KENTUCKY: *Cooper;* IDAHO: *Dworshak*†; NEW MEXICO: Hatch△; **NEW JERSEY: *Hawkes*†; COLORADO:** Johnson; **OKLAHOMA: *Moore;* MONTANA:** Murray△; **WEST VIRGINIA: *Revercomb;* WYOMING: *Robertson;* IOWA: *Wilson***

Honor Roll

Of the 435 Representatives and 96 Senators whose voting records are listed in our voting charts, the following 30 Representatives and 4 Senators have perfect records.

CALIFORNIA: Douglas, Havenner, Holifield, King, Miller. COLORADO: Carroll. ILLINOIS: Price, Sabath, Dawson. INDIANA: Ludlow, Madden. MICHIGAN: Dingell. MINNESOTA: Blatnik. MISSOURI: Karsten. NEW JERSEY: Norton. NEW YORK: Bloom, Celler, Delaney, Heffernan, Klein, Multer, Pfeifer, Somers. OHIO: Crosser, Huber. PENNSYLVANIA: Buchanan, Eberharter, Morgan. RHODE ISLAND: Fogarty, Forand. SENATE: Barkley (Ky.); Murray (Mont.); Wagner (N. Y.); Green (R. I.).

The Unholy Alliance

Without the cooperation of their fellow reactionaries among the Southern Democrats the Republicans could not have ruled the 80th Congress.

Five times, the Republican Congress was able to override President Truman's vetoes of reactionary measures because the Southern Democratic votes with which to make up the necessary two-thirds majority of 290 votes were on tap.

For all practical purposes, there were three party organizations functioning in the 80th Congress. The following breakdown of House votes, considering Democratic members from the 13 Southern states as a separate bloc, shows how the bi-partisan arrangement between Republican and Dixiecrat reactionaries actually worked. (+) means to sustain veto; (—) means to override.

	Republicans		*Southern Democrats*		*Democrats*	
	—	+	—	+	—	+
1. Income Tax Reduction Veto Overridden 4/2/48	229	2	70	33	12	51
2. Taft-Hartley Law Veto Overridden 6/20/47	225	11	93	13	13	58
3. Transfer Labor Department Func. Veto Overridden 6/16/48	229	1	55	44	4	66
4. Limit Social Security Coverage Veto Overridden 6/14/48	208	4	81	18	8	51
5. Exempt Railroads from Anti-Trust Veto Overridden 6/17/48	228	4	58	48	11	48

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LET EACH OF US DO HIS PART

We, as a nation, have often placed too much emphasis on property rights and too little emphasis on human rights.

Too frequently we have permitted the wealthy and the powerful to trample on the poor and the weak.

Our giant industrial enterprises too often have treated their employees like machines instead of like human beings.

Too many of our office-seekers now work for the vested interests and too few for the great masses of our people.

We—the American people—are largely to blame for these wrongs.

We can remedy them. We can make the needed repairs on our political and economic machines. We can make the United States what we want it to be—what the United States should be.

We must stamp out segregation and other forms of discrimination. We can remove the voting limitations imposed by the poll tax. We can give real meaning to the civil rights provisions written into our Constitution.

WE HAVE THE POWER to curb inflation, to solve our vexing housing problem, to provide all our people with decent medical and educational services.

The monopolists are on the march, and make no mistake about it! They have been gobbling up independent factories and business houses at an alarming rate during the past eight years.

Their spokesmen dominate the 80th Congress—the Congress that made no real attempt to curb inflation, to increase the minimum wage, to broaden social security, to provide for slum clearance and real low-cost housing.

This is the Congress which attempted to cut the heart out of the labor movement by passing a legalistic monstrosity called the Taft-Hartley Law. This is the law that tipped the scales strongly in favor of management and is imposing "government by injunction" upon the nation's workers.

THIS CONGRESS changed our tax structure so as to provide much relief for the wealthy and little relief for the average wage-earner.

There were good men and women in Congress who stood up and fought for the people but the selfish and short-sighted were too many for them.

It is our considered judgment that the 80th Congress is fully deserving of every criticism that has been cast upon it.

That, too, is the judgment of the *good* men and women who sat in the Congress, and fought a brave but hopeless battle against the reactionary majority. We honor these good people, but honor is not enough. We must send them help.

Now is the time for political action!

The Congress must feel our strength.

The Senators and Congressmen who are the servants of the special interests must go.

Senators and Congressmen who will serve the people must be elected in their place.

By political action we shall bring about a change.

With 60 million votes!

Each of us must be sure to register, and to vote.

Each of us can remind his neighbor who lives next door and his neighbor who lives across the street to register and to vote.

Let Each of Us Do His Part, in His Own Home and in His Own Block, and We Need Have No Fear in the Year to Come.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

1500 Commonwealth Building **Pittsburgh, Pa.**

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EXPLANATION OF HOUSE VOTING CHART

1. Vote on conference report on appropriations for ERP. (6/20/48) The House Appropriations Committee had cut funds for the Marshall Plan by $1.9 billion and spread the funds over 15 months rather than 12. This action brought strong criticism from the Senate. Most of the cut and the 12-month time limit in the European Recovery Program were restored in Conference Committee at an 115-hour meeting just before Congress adjourned for the conventions. The House agreed to the Conference Committee changes, 318–62.

2. Extending Republican version of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for one year. (5/26/48) The House Rules Committee imposed a "gag" rule, banning amendments to the drastically revised reciprocal-trade program which Republican members had forced through the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Party lines were sharply drawn during the debate, with Administration leaders battling for a three-year extension of the Act and against such crippling changes as replacing the Committee on Reciprocity Information with the Tariff Commission, and giving Congress power to veto proposed new tariff rates recommended by the President. The bill passed the House, 234–149. The Senate agreed to the one-year extension, but toned down some of the amendments.

3. Portal Pay Bill. (2/28/47) This bill seriously weakened enforcement of the Wage-Hour Act. Vigorously opposed by labor, the bill banned all portal-to-portal wage suits, allowed employers to evade back-pay claims for violations, and reduced the time within which workers' suits for back pay may be filed. Nevertheless the bill passed both Houses and became law. The vote in the House was 345–56.

4. Vote to override Taft-Hartley Veto. (6/20/47) The House overrode President Truman's message vetoing the Taft-Hartley Bill as soon as it was received, 331 to 83. The Senate also overrode the veto, three days later, 68–25.

5. Motion to recommit conference version of Displaced Persons Bill. (6/18/48) In conference, the House, which had passed a fairly good bill to aid the DP's, yielded to the Senate and agreed to a highly discriminatory measure which excluded most of the Jewish DP's by providing that at least 80,000 were to come from areas annexed by a foreign power (Latvia, Lithuania, etc.) and that 60,000 must be farm workers. It defined eligible DP's as those who had entered DP camps before December 22, 1945. The motion to recommit was defeated, 133–266.

6. Motion to suspend rules to consider Anti-Inflation Bill. (12/15/47) The Republican-sponsored Wolcott Bill, ostensibly designed to fight inflation, merely extended existing controls over exports and rail transport and let industry control everything else through voluntary agreements, exempted from the anti-trust laws. Motion to suspend the rules and bring it up was defeated, 202–188.

7. Vote to override veto of Income-Tax-Reduction Bill. (4/2/48) The House, 311–88, overrode the veto of this bill which gave heavy cuts to those with large incomes, and slight relief to the middle and low brackets.

8. Vote to override veto of bill exempting railroads from anti-trust prosecution. (6/17/48) The Reed-Bulwinkle Bill, representing a victory for lobbyists of the Association of American Railroads, suspends anti-trust laws with regard to rate-making agreements entered into by the roads. The bill was vetoed by President Truman, but the House overrode, 297–102, when 69 Democrats joined 228 Republicans against the President.

9. Vote on amendment to Rent-Control Bill. (3/16/48) Lobbyists for the landlords gave heavy support to a bill transferring from the federal government to local boards power to raise rents and rent ceilings. The amendment passed, 228–155.

10. Vote on proposal for TVA Steam Plant. (6/19/48) The public-utility lobby fought hard against a standby steam plant at Johnsonville, Tennessee, to supplement hydroelectric power. The item was taken out by the House Appropriations Committee, and the effort to restore it was defeated, 186–201.

11. Vote to restrict social-security coverage. (2/27/48) The Treasury Department said that in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions, some 750,000 truck drivers, miners, salesmen and others should be included in the social-security system. A Republican-sponsored bill was introduced specifically excluding these groups from old age, survivors' and unemployment insurance. It was passed, 275–52. In favor were 197 Republicans and 78 Democrats; opposed were four Republicans and 47 Democrats. A presidential veto was subsequently overridden.

12. Anti-Poll-Tax Bill. (7/21/47) Despite attempts by Southerners to prevent a vote, the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill passed the House, 290–112. Only 14 Republicans voted against it, along with 98 Democrats, all from the South or border states. A Senate filibuster prevented further action.

13. Mundt-Nixon Anti-Subversion Bill. (5/19/48) This, the first bill ever introduced by the Un-American Activities Committee, was passed, 319–58; only 48 Democrats and 8 Republicans risked the charge of coddling the Communists. The less hysterical Senate decided, after Justice Department interpretations, that the bill might be unconstitutional, and allowed it to die in its Judiciary Committee.

14. Vote for an extra $200,000 for the Un-American Activities Committee. (3/9/48) One day after an alleged Russian submarine was allegedly sighted off the US coast, the House voted overwhelmingly to give the Un-American Activities Committee $200,000 more. The vote was 337–37.

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THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendmen	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ALABAMA														
3 Andrews	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
9 Battle	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−
1 Boykin	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	+	−	−	○	−
2 Grant	+	+	−	−	+	+	○	−	○	+	−	−	−	−
4 Hobbs	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
6 Jarman	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	+	○	+	−	−	○	−
8 Jones	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	○	+	−	−	−	−
7 Manasco	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	−	○	+	○	−	−	○
5 Rains	+	+	−	−	−	+	○	−	+	+	−	−	−	○
ARIZONA														
AL Harless	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
AL Murdock	○	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	○
ARKANSAS														
4 Cravens	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1 Gathings	+	−	○	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
7 Harris	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	−
5 Hays	○	+	○	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	○
2 Mills	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
6 Norrell	+	+	○	−	−	+	○	−	○	+	−	−	−	−
3 Trimble	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
CALIFORNIA														
7 *Allen*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
8 *Anderson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	○	−
18 *Bradley*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
11 *Bramblett*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	○	−
14 Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Elliott	+	−	−	−	○	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2 Engle	+	○	○	−	○	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	○	−
23 *Fletcher*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	−
9 *Gearhart*	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
4 Havenner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 *Hinshaw*	+	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	+	○	+	−	○
19 Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 *Jackson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
3 *Johnson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
17 King	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+
1 Lea	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	○	○	−	−
15 *McDonough*	+	−	−	−	+	○	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
6 Miller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+
12 *Nixon*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
22 *Phillips*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	○
13 *Poulson*	+	−	○	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
21 Sheppard	+	+	○	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	○	○
5 *Welch*	○	−	+	+	+	−	−	○	○	+	+	+	−	−
COLORADO														
1 Carroll	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Chenoweth*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Hill*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	○
4 *Rockwell*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
CONNECTICUT														
3 *Foote*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
4 *Lodge*	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	○	+	+	−
1 *Miller*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
5 *Patterson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
AL *Sadlack*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○
2 *Seely-Brown*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
DELAWARE														
AL *Boggs*	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	−
FLORIDA														
5 Hendricks	+	+	○	−	−	+	○	○	○	○	○	−	○	−
1 Peterson	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
2 Price	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	○	−	−	−
6 Rogers	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3 Sikes	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
4 Smathers	+	+	○	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	○	−	−	−

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [○]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in bold italic.

Numbers in brackets after certain names, e.g. [1], signify the following:

1. *Resigned October 5, 1947.*
2. *Died June 7, 1948.*
3. *Sworn in November 7, 1947.*
4. *Elected to Congress but not sworn in until July 16, 1947 due to illness.*
5. *Sworn in April 26, 1948.*
6. *Sworn in May 3, 1948.*
7. *Sworn in July 24, 1947.*
8. *The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.*
9. *Sworn in November 28, 1947.*
10. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
11. *Died April 7, 1948.*
12. *Sworn in March 1, 1948.*
13. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
14. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
15. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
16. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
17. *Sworn in November 17, 1947.*
18. *Sworn in February 26, 1948.*
19. *Resigned April 17, 1948.*
20. *Sworn in June 25, 1947.*
21. *Sworn in May 5, 1947.*

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 24.

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendmen	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
GEORGIA														
10 Brown	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
4 Camp	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
2 Cox	○	+	−	−	−	+	−	○	−	+	−	−	−	−
5 Davis	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
7 Lanham	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	○	−	−	−
3 Pace	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
1 Preston	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
6 Vinson	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
8 Wheeler	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
9 Wood	−	+	−	−	○	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
IDAHO														
1 *Goff*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Sanborn*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
ILLINOIS														
13 *Allen*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
17 *Arends*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
25 *Bishop*	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3 *Busbey*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
15 *Chiperfield*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	○	+	−	−
10 *Church*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
24 *Clippinger*	−	○	−	−	○	○	−	−	+	−	○	+	−	○
1 Dawson	○	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+
16 *Dirksen*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	○
8 Gordon	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Gorski	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
21 *Howell* [11]												+		
18 *Jenison*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
14 *Johnson*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
12 *Mason*	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
19 *McMillen*	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	−
6 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Owens [2]		○	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○
22 Price	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 *Reed*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
5 Sabath	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 *Simpson*	○	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
AL *Stratton*	○	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
9 *Twyman*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Vail*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
23 *Vursell*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
INDIANA														
4 *Gillie*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3 *Grant*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Halleck*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
5 *Harness*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
10 *Harvey* [3]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
6 *Johnson*	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
7 *Landis*	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
11 Ludlow [4]	○	+		○	+	+	○	+	+	○	○	+	+	○
1 Madden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+
8 *Mitchell*	+	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	○	−	○	+	−	+
9 *Wilson*	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	○	○	−	○	+	−	○
IOWA														
5 *Cunningham*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
6 *Dolliver*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3 *Gwynne*	+	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
8 *Hoeven*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
7 *Jensen*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	−
4 *LeCompte*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
1 *Martin*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Talle*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
KANSAS														
1 *Cole*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
5 *Hope*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	−
3 *Meyer*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
4 *Rees*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
2 *Scrivner*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
6 *Smith*	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	−
KENTUCKY														
8 Bates	+	+	−	+	○	○	+	+	+	+	○	−	−	−
6 Chapman	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	○	−	−	−
4 Chelf	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
2 Whitaker [5]	+	+		+	○			−		+			○	
1 Gregory	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
7 *Meade*	+	○	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
3 *Morton*	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	○	−
9 *Lewis* [6]	○	−		−	−			−		+			−	
5 Spence	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
LOUISIANA														
8 Allen	○	+	−	−	+	○	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−
2 Boggs	+	+	○	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	○	−
4 Brooks	+	+	−	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	−
3 Domengeaux	+	−	○	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	○	−	○	−
1 Hebert	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
7 Larcade	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	○	−	−	−
6 Morrison	+	+	○	+	−	○	−	−	○	+	○	−	○	○
5 Passman	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	○	−	○	−

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THE RECORD

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
MAINE														
3 *Fellows*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–
1 *Hale*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 *Smith*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	–	+	○	–
MARYLAND														
6 *Beall*	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
4 Fallon	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
3 Garmatz [7	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
2 Meade	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	+	+	–	+	–	–
1 *Miller*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
5 Sasscer	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
MASSACHUSETTS														
6 *Bates*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2 *Clason*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
4 Donohue	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
8 *Goodwin*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
10 *Herter*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	○	+	–	–	+	–	–
1 *Heselton*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
11 Kennedy	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	○	+	+	○	+	○	–
7 Lane	○	○	+	+	○	+	–	○	+	○	–	+	○	–
14 *Martin* [8]														
12 McCormack	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	–	–
9 *Nicholson* [9]	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3 Philbin	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
5 *Rogers*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
13 *Wigglesworth*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
MICHIGAN														
12 *Bennett*	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
6 *Blackney*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
13 *Coffin*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
8 *Crawford*	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
15 Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 *Dondero*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	+	–	–
9 *Engel*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4 *Hoffman*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–
5 *Jonkman*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
16 Lesinski	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Michener*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
11 *Potter* [10]	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Sadowski	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Shafer*	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
7 *Wolcott*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
10 *Woodruff*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
14 *Youngblood*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
MINNESOTA														
7 *Andersen*	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1 *Andresen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	+	–	–
8 Blatnik	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 *Devitt*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
9 *Hagen*	+	–	○	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
5 *Judd*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
6 *Knutson*	○	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	○	○	+	○	–
3 *MacKinnon*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	○	–
2 *O'Hara*	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	○	○	–
MISSISSIPPI														
4 Abernethy	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
6 *Colmer*	○	+	–	–	+	○	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1 Rankin	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2 Whitten	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3 Whittington	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
7 Williams	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
5 Winstead	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	○	+	–	–	–	–
MISSOURI														
1 *Arnold*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
11 *Bakewell*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
8 *Banta*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4 Bell	+	○	–	–	–	+	+	○	+	–	–	–	○	○
6 *Bennett*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
9 Cannon	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3 *Cole*	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
13 Karsten	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 *Ploeser*	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
5 *Reeves*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	○	–	+	–	–
2 *Schwabe*	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 *Short*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	○	–
10 Zimmerman [11]			–	–			–	–	+		–	+		–
MONTANA														
2 *D'Ewart*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	○	–
1 Mansfield	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
NEBRASKA														
2 *Buffett*	○	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1 *Curtis*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
4 *Miller*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3 *Stefan*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
NEVADA														
AL *Russell*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
NEW HAMPSHIRE														
2 *Cotton*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1 *Merrow*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○
NEW JERSEY														
3 *Auchincloss*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
8 *Canfield*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
6 *Case*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
5 *Eaton*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	+	–	–
2 *Hand*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
14 Hart	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
10 *Hartley*	○	○	–	–	○	–	–	○	○	–	○	+	○	○
12 *Kean*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
4 *Mathews*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
13 Norton	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 *Sundstrom*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
7 *Thomas*	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	○	○	–	○	+	○	–
9 *Towe*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
1 *Wolverton*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
NEW MEXICO														
AL Fernandez	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
AL Lusk	+	+	○	○	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	○	–	–
NEW YORK														
42 *Andrews*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	+	–	○
20 Bloom	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 *Buck*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
25 Buckley	○	+	+	+	+	○	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
44 *Butler*	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	+	–	–
32 Byrne	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Celler	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39 *Cole*	+	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	○	+	–	–
17 *Coudert*	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
43 *Elsaesser*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
35 *Fuller*	+	–	○	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
28 *Gamble*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
27 *Gwinn*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
37 *Hall, E. A.*	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	+	–	–
2 *Hall, L. W.*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	+	–	–
11 Heffernan	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	○
24 Isacson AL [12]	–	+			+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+
21 *Javits*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+
31 *Kearney*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	○	–
40 *Keating*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
9 Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34 *Kilburn*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
19 Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Latham*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
30 *LeFevre*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
23 Lynch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	–	+	+	+	+	+
1 *Macy*	○	+	○	–	+	–	–	○	–	+	+	+	–	–
18 Marcantonio AL	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 *McMahon*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
14 Multer [13]	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 *Nodar*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
13 O'Toole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Pfeifer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26 *Potts*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
22 Powell	+	+	+	○	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45 *Reed*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
36 *Riehlman*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
12 Rooney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 *Ross*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
29 *St. George*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
10 Somers	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38 *Taber*	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
33 *Taylor*	+	–	–	–	+	–	○	–	+	–	○	+	–	–
41 *Wadsworth*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	○	–	–	○
NORTH CAROLINA														
3 Barden	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	○
1 Bonner	+	+	○	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	○	○
11 Bulwinkle	○	○	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	○	○
7 Clark	○	+	–	–	○	+	+	–	○	–	○	–	○	○
4 Cooley	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	○	○
8 Deane	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
9 Doughton	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
6 Durham	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	○	–	○	–
5 Folger	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	○	+
10 Jones	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	○	+
2 Kerr	+	+	–	○	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	○
12 Redden	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	○	–
NORTH DAKOTA														
AL *Lemke*	○	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
AL *Robertson*	○	○	–	–	○	–	–	○	–	○	–	+	–	–
OHIO														
AL *Bender*	○	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
22 *Bolton*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
11 *Brehm*	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 *Brown*	○	–	–	–	○	–	–	–	○	○	–	+	–	–
3 *Burke*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	○	+	–	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HOUSE (cont'd)

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Partial-to-Partial Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
OHIO (continued)														
16 *Carson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
5 *Clevenger*	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
21 Crosser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	~	+	+	+	+
1 *Elston*	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	~	−	+	−	−
20 Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	~	+	+	+	−
15 *Griffiths*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	~	−	+	−	−
2 *Hess*	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
14 Huber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	~	+	+	+	+
10 *Jenkins*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
19 Kirwan	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	~	+	+	+	+
18 *Lewis*	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
6 *McCowen*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	○
4 *McCulloch* [14]	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
17 *McGregor*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
9 *Ramey*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
8 *Smith*	−	+	−	○	−	+	−	−	−	~	−	○	+	−
12 *Vorys*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
13 *Weichel*	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
OKLAHOMA														
3 Albert	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
4 Johnson	○	○	+	+	○	+	−	○	−	○	+	+	○	−
5 Monroney	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
6 Morris	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
7 Peden	○	+	−	−	○	+	+	○	−	+	−	−	−	−
8 *Rizley*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
1 *Schwabe*	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 Stigler	○	+	−	−	○	+	+	○	+	+	○	+	○	−
OREGON														
3 *Angell*	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
4 *Ellsworth*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○	+	−
1 *Norblad*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2 *Stockman*	○	−	○	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	+	−	−
PENNSYLVANIA														
33 Buchanan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 *Chadwick*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	~	−	+	−	−
30 *Corbett*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
23 *Crow*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
9 *Dague*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
32 Eberharter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 *Fenton*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	○
31 *Fulton*	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	~	+	+	○	−
1 *Gallagher*	○	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	○	~	○	+	○	−
19 *Gavin*	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	○	−
14 *Gillette*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
25 *Graham*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
21 *Gross*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
11 *Jenkins*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	○	○
28 *Kearns*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
27 Kelley	+	+	+	○	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 *Kunkel*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
8 *Lichtenwalter* [15]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	−	−	−
4 *Maloney*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	○	+	−	−
16 *McConnell*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	~	−	+	−	○
29 *McDowell*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	~	○	+	−	○
2 *McGarvey*	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
24 Morgan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 *Muhlenberg*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
15 *Rich*	−	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	~	−	−	−	−
5 *Sarbacher*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	~	−	+	−	−
10 *Scoblick*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	○	+	○	○
3 *Scott, Hardie*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
6 *Scott, Hugh*	○	−	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
17 *Simpson*	○	−	−	−	○	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
26 *Tibbott*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	~	−	+	−	−
22 *Van Zandt*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	~	−	+	−	−
20 Walter	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	~	+	+	−	−
RHODE ISLAND														
2 Fogarty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Forand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA														
4 Bryson	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
3 Dorn	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	○	−
6 McMillan	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
5 Richards	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
2 Riley	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
1 Rivers	○	+	−	−	○	○	−	○	○	+	○	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA														
2 *Case*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	−
1 *Mundt*	+	○	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	○	−	+	−	−

Cong. District	Cut ERP Funds	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Partial-to-Partial Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Admit Jewish DP's	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Weaken Rent Control	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Restrict Social Security	Anti-Poll-Tax Bill	Mundt-Nixon Bill	Funds for Thomas Comm.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
TENNESSEE														
9 Cooper	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
7 Courtney	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
10 Davis	+	+	−	−	+	○	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	−
5 Evins	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
4 Gore	+	+	○	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	○	−	−	−
2 *Jennings*	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
3 Kefauver	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
8 Murray	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	○	−
1 *Phillips*	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
6 Priest	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
TEXAS														
3 Beckworth	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
17 Burleson	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	○	−	−	−
2 Combs	+	+	−	○	−	+	+	+	+	+	○	−	−	−
21 Fisher	+	−	−	−	○	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	○	−
13 Gossett	+	−	−	−	○	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
10 Johnson	○	○	−	−	−	+	+	○	+	+	○	−	○	−
20 Kilday	+	○	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
12 Lucas	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	○	−	−	−
14 Lyle	○	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
19 Mahon	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
1 Patman	+	+	−	○	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
7 Pickett	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
11 Poage	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
4 Rayburn	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	○	+	+	−	−	−	−
16 Regan [16]	○	+	−	−	○	+	−	○	−	○	○	−	−	−
6 Teague	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
8 Thomas	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
9 Thompson [17]	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	○	−	−	−	−
15 West	○	○	−	−	○	+	−	○	○	+	○	−	○	○
5 Wilson	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
18 Worley	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	○	−	−	−
UTAH														
2 *Dawson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	+	−	−
1 Granger	○	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT														
AL *Plumley*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	○	+	−	−
VIRGINIA														
4 Abbitt [18]	+	+			−		−	−	○	+	○		−	○
6 Almond [19]			−	−			−		+		○	−		−
1 Bland	○	−	−	−	−	○	−		○	+	○	−		−
9 Flannagan	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	○	+	○	−	○	−
3 Gary	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
2 Hardy	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
7 Harrison	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
8 Smith	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
5 Stanley	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON														
4 *Holmes*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	○	−	+	−	−
5 *Horan*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2 Jackson	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 *Jones*	+	−	○	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
3 *Mack* [20]	+	−			−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
6 *Tollefson*	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
WEST VIRGINIA														
4 *Ellis*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
6 Hedrick	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
5 Kee	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	○	+	+
1 *Love*	○	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	○
3 *Rohrbough*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
2 *Snyder*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
WISCONSIN														
4 *Brophy*	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
8 *Byrnes*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 *Davis* [21]	+	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
9 *Hull*	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
6 *Keefe*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
5 *Kersten*	+	○	−	−	−	○	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
7 *Murray*	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	○
10 *O'Konski*	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
1 *Smith*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
3 *Stevenson*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
WYOMING														
AL *Barrett*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−

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EXPLANATION OF SENATE VOTING CHART

1. Taft Amendment cutting funds for Marshall Plan. (3/12/48) Senate isolationists' effort, led by Senator Robert Taft, to cut Economic Coöperation Act funds from $5.3 billion to $4 billion was rejected, 31–56. Of the Republicans, 23 voted with Taft and 24 against. Of the Democrats, only 8 voted for the cut.

2. Vote on amendment to admit Jewish DP's. (6/2/48) The Revercomb Displaced Persons Bill, by a technicality, kept out most of the Jewish DP's. The effort to amend and let them in was defeated, 49–29.

3. Vote to extend reciprocal trade agreements for three years. (6/14/ 48) The Senate, while it improved the House bill in some respects, extended the Act only one year. An effort to increase this to three years, introduced by Senator Barkley at the request of President Truman, was defeated, 41–48. Only one Republican voted for the amendment and one Democrat against it.

4. Vote on Portal Pay Bill. (3/20/47) This bill seriously weakened enforcement of the Wage-Hour Act and was vigorously opposed by labor. Nevertheless it passed both Houses and became law. The vote in the Senate was 64–24.

5. Vote to override Taft-Hartley veto. (6/23/47) The Senate overrode the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill three days later than the action by the House. The vote in the Senate was 68–25.

6. Vote on amendment to strengthen GOP Anti-Inflation Bill. (8/7/48) The Republican Anti-Inflation Bill contained only two of the eight points in President Truman's program against high prices. When the rest of the program was offered as an amendment, including price control and powers over allocation, priorities and inventories, it was defeated, 33–53. Only one Republican, along with 32 Democrats, voted for the amendment. Forty-seven Republicans and six Democrats joined to defeat the amendment.

7. Vote on reimposing excess-profits tax. (3/19/48) Senator O'Mahoney attempted to restore the excess-profits tax as a part of the tax-reduction bill. The effort was defeated, 26–58, with 15 Democrats and 43 Republicans voting against the restoration. In favor were 23 Democrats and 3 Republicans.

8. Vote to override tax-cut veto. (4/2/48) Both Houses overrode the President's veto; the vote in the Senate was 77–10. Twenty-seven Democrats and 50 Republicans voted to override; only 10 Democrats voted to sustain.

9. Vote to exempt railroads from anti-trust law. (6/16/48) The Reed-Bulwinkle Bill, representing a victory for the lobbyists of the Association of American Railroads, was passed by the Senate, 63–25. The President vetoed the bill and both Houses overrode the veto.

10. Vote on bill to provide federal aid for education. (4/1/48) The Senate on April 1, 1948, passed a bill for federal aid to the states of $300 million a year to help finance public schools. A series of amendments for aid to non-public schools was rejected. The final vote was 58–22; only 5 Democrats and 17 Republicans voted against the bill.

11. Vote on amendment to weaken Rent Control Act. (2/24/48) A favorite proposal of the landlords, to require national rent-control authorities to be bound by recommendations of local boards, was offered by Senator McClellan of Arkansas. It was defeated, 25–43.

12. Vote on amendment to kill public housing. (4/21/48) The Senate, having previously twice passed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill for long-range public housing, fought this year over a plan for five years of federal aid to local housing authorities for construction of 500,000 low-cost units. An amendment to strike out all public housing was defeated, 35–49, those voting in its favor being 18 Republicans and 17 Democrats.

13. Vote to override President's veto of bill to limit social-security coverage. (6/14/48) The Social Security Bill, passed by both Houses, specifically removed about 750,000 truck drivers, miners, salesmen and others from the social-security system, after the Treasury Department had said that in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions, they should be included. When President Truman vetoed the bill both Houses overrode the veto, the vote in the Senate being 65–12. Twenty-eight Democrats and 37 Republicans voted to override, 10 Democrats and 2 Republicans to sustain the veto.

14. Vote to restore funds for TVA Steam Plant. (6/15/48) When the House removed from TVA funds authorization for a standby steam plant at Johnsonville, Tennessee, the Senate Appropriations Committee restored the funds, and the Senate itself upheld the action, 45–37. However, the House again eliminated the provision, and it was left out of the final bill. Thirty-four Republicans and three Democrats opposed the restoration of funds; 11 Republicans and 36 Democrats voted for it.

15. Vote on segregation in Southern schools. (5/13/48) Governors of Southern states attempted to get congressional approval for action circumventing recent Supreme Court decisions that Negroes must either attend state colleges and universities or have schools of their own with equal facilities. The Governors lost when a motion to recommit to the Judiciary Committee was carried by one vote. It had the support of 29 Republicans and 9 Democrats and was opposed by 10 Republicans and 27 Democrats, mostly from the South.

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60,000,000 VOTES=60¢ BUTTER

SIXTY MILLION VOTES

Sixty million votes in the ballot boxes on November 2 means a better Congress, a Congress that will do something to bring butter back to 60 cents a pound—back where it was before the profit-hungry 80th Congress destroyed price controls and paved the way for the inflation orgy we are now experiencing.

REASON FOR 80TH CONGRESS

Arithmetically—and politically—the reason for the 80th Congress, called by President Truman, "the worst in American history," is the failure of millions of Americans to remember the power of their vote, *and to use it.* In the 1946 congressional elections, out of a potential of 91 million voters, only 34.5 millions bothered to vote, *less than 40%.* This indifference permited a minority, determined to profiteer, to elect the 80th Congress, *and to control it,* at the expense of the welfare of the American people. Inflation prices, the Taft-Hartley Act, lack of housing, stalling on civil rights legislation are the results of this lethargy. The whole sordid record of the 80th Congress presented in this special issue of the New Republic is, in reality, the end product of our voting apathy.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The right to vote is one of the fundamental privileges of our democracy. We boast of it to the peoples of the world as the surest guarantee of freedom. But we neglect it ourselves. The shocking fact is that the United States is far behind many of the European democracies in turning out the vote. Figures since the war show Holland recorded a 91% turnout, England, 79%, France, 78%, Italy, 90%, and Sweden, 72%.

CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY

If we are to successfully promote the cause of democracy throughout the world, we must practice what we preach. • We must remember that we can't have government of the people unless all of the people select it, by registering to vote and voting. • What can you do about it? Register! Vote! Get at least five others to register and vote . . . *for the election of Harry S. Truman for President, Alben S. Barkley for Vice-President, and a progressive 81st Congress.*

REMEMBER: **THE GOAL IS 60,000,000**

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, 728 17th STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	Cut ERP Funds	Admit Jewish DP's	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Revive Excess-Profits Tax	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Fed. Aid to Education	Weaken Rent Control	Kill Public Housing	Restrict Social Security	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Segregated School Plan
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ALABAMA															
Hill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
Sparkman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
ARIZONA															
Hayden	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
McFarland	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
ARKANSAS															
Fulbright	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	−
McClellan	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
CALIFORNIA															
Downey	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
Knowland	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
COLORADO															
Johnson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
Millikin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
CONNECTICUT															
Baldwin	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
McMahon	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE															
Buck	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Williams	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
FLORIDA															
Holland	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Pepper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
GEORGIA															
George	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
Russell	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	−	+	−
IDAHO															
Dworshak	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Taylor	−	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS															
Brooks	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	−	+
Lucas	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	O	+	O	+	+	+	+
INDIANA															
Capehart	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−
Jenner	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
IOWA															
Hickenlooper	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
Wilson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	O	O
KANSAS															
Capper	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	O	−	+
Reed	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	O	O	O	O	+
KENTUCKY															
Barkley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cooper	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
LOUISIANA															
Ellender	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	+	−
Feazel [1]		−	+			+			−				−	+	
MAINE															
Brewster	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
White	O	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	O	+	−	−	O
MARYLAND															
O'Conor	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
Tydings	+	−	+	−	−	+	O	O	−	O	O	−	−	+	−
MASSACHUSETTS															
Lodge	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
Saltonstall	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
MICHIGAN															
Ferguson	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
Vandenberg	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
MINNESOTA															
Ball	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	−	+
Thye	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
MISSISSIPPI															
Eastland	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	O	−	−	+	−
Stennis [2]	+	−	+			−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in bold italic.

Numbers in brackets after certain names, e.g. [1], signify the following:

1. Appointed by Governor to fill vacancy due to death of Senator Overton May 14, 1948.

2. Sworn in November 17, 1947.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number, on page 28.

	Cut ERP Funds	Admit Jewish DP's	Extend Reciprocal Trade	Portal-to-Portal Pay	Override Taft-Hartley Veto	Anti-Inflation Amendment	Revive Excess-Profits Tax	Override Tax-Cut Veto	Exempt RR's from Anti-Trust	Fed. Aid to Education	Weaken Rent Control	Kill Public Housing	Restrict Social Security	Funds for TVA Steam Plant	Segregated School Plan
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MISSOURI															
Donnell	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	O
Kem	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
MONTANA															
Ecton	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Murray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	O
NEBRASKA															
Butler	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+
Wherry	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	+
NEVADA															
Malone	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
McCarran	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	−	−	+	−	+	O	+	O
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
Bridges	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	+	−	−	+
Tobey	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	O	O	+
NEW JERSEY															
Hawkes	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Smith	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	O	+
NEW MEXICO															
Chavez	−	+	+	+	+	O	O	−	−	+	+	+	O	+	O
Hatch	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−
NEW YORK															
Ives	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	O	−	+
Wagner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA															
Hoey	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Umstead	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
NORTH DAKOTA															
Langer	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Young	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
OHIO															
Bricker	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Taft	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
OKLAHOMA															
Moore	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	−
Thomas	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	−	+	−
OREGON															
Cordon	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
Morse	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA															
Martin	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Myers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	O	+
RHODE ISLAND															
Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McGrath	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
SOUTH CAROLINA															
Johnston	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
Maybank	+	O	+	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	O	+	−	+	−
SOUTH DAKOTA															
Bushfield	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	O	O
Gurney	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
TENNESSEE															
McKellar	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	+	−
Stewart	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
TEXAS															
Connally	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	O	−	+	−
O'Daniel	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
UTAH															
Thomas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
Watkins	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
VERMONT															
Aiken	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	O	+	−	+	+
Flanders	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	O	+	+
VIRGINIA															
Byrd	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Robertson	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
WASHINGTON															
Cain	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Magnuson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA															
Kilgore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
Revercomb	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	O	−	−	O
WISCONSIN															
McCarthy	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Wiley	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	O	−
WYOMING															
O'Mahoney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−
Robertson	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	O

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UNLESS YOU DO, the neighbors will think you're crazy or have too much money in the bank. More important, it just won't help matters. Of course, it isn't easy to keep from mumbling some steaming phrases as you see the vicious record of the Republican 80th Congress coming to life all around us. Wherever you look, the story is the same.

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1948: THE NEW BEGINNING

THE 80TH CONGRESS sold out. Its sordid record stains the Republican platform with dishonesty and brands its promises cheap.

Reaction has not fled from the Republican Party mansion since the Special Session ended; nor has progress marched in. Liberalism and internationalism may linger in its corridors; reaction and intolerance rule in its inner sanctum and guard its till. Its mouth may speak to American ears the phrases of reform. Its heart still pumps into American veins the blood of isolationism and hatred of the New Deal. Against the voices within its walls which cry out in opposition to every extension of the role of democratic government in the service of its citizens, are raised only those who see in big government the counterpart of the giant corporation and the monopoly press: the means of restricting still further the areas of freedom in America and of pressing on other peoples the dead weight of financial and military power. In good times this party fails, as it failed in the twenties, to check the compounding forces of unbalance that lead to economic disaster. In hard times it meets intolerable misery with inaction, or with repression at home, and expansion abroad. In a nation in which progress is the price of prosperity, it is trained only to resist progress by arousing prejudice and hysteria. In a world of advancing social reform its inclination is to leave America isolated, without friends, a crumbling fortress of reaction struggling vainly, by force of money and arms, to hold back the irresistible march of men and ideas.

This characterization, the Progressive Party would charge, is accurate, but fits equally Republicans and Democrats. The central argument of the Progressive Party is that the two parties are a single force of reactionary bipartisans, and, therefore, the Democratic Party is already dead.

We cannot accept these assertions.

In *domestic* policy, the story we have told demonstrates a contrast between the parties which, as it affects the lives of ordinary Americans, is real and deep. Only the Dixiecrats blur the party lines and they, for generations, have been submerged Republicans, carrying out the purposes of Northern corporations and blocking all administration efforts for reform. In *international* policy there is no doubt that the President, in seeking the support of a Republican Congress, followed a bipartisan policy. It was a policy in 1946 and 1947 which we condemned in the get-tough program and the Truman Doctrine of unending conflict with the USSR. This year, the issue of bipartisan policy challenged by the Progressive Party is the Marshall Plan. It opposes this plan for the sake of Europeans, although no one in Europe except Communists opposes it. Here the "bipartisans," we believe, are completely right, and the Progressive Party fundamentally wrong.

The opposition of the Progressive Party to the Marshall Plan followed its basic outlook. It believes that the dominant groups in our government are working for war and the suppression of the rights of other peoples; it accepts the doctrine that the dominant group in the Soviet government is working for world coöperation for peace, and respects the democratic rights of other peoples. This outlook we also must reject in the light of the attack by the USSR against the Marshall Plan, its warfare on all forms of Western culture, its suppression of democracy and its call to Communists to mobilize for the division of the world. From now on, the liberal movement in America must work unceasingly for coöperation with Russia and for the right of Americans to be Communists, but in complete independence of Soviet ideology and of the Communist Party.

All liberals are drawn toward the Progressive Party if only because it is *fighting* for many good causes. Yet, at this time *it is not enough simply to fight.* It is necessary to fight on the right ground, for the right principles against the right opponents, and with the right sergeants as well as the best generals; to fight in a way that brings the major forces for good in American life into continuous, organized action and in a way that conserves these forces so that they may thrive and grow, and form governments. The Progressive Party has not waged this kind of fight. Its battle plan, like that of any third party, is to become the second party, in this case by killing off the Democratic Party. But because the Democratic Party is still liberal, the Progressive Party has instead isolated itself from the mainsprings of progress.

In an industrial society organized labor alone can serve as the basis for a movement which gathers all who seek economic and social justice. Organized labor has rejected the Progressive Party. It is placing its weight and energy as never before behind the Democratic Party. As labor moves in, Southern reaction is moving out of the Democratic Party. Its promise was never greater.

No paper has exposed more outspokenly than the *NR* the personal shortcomings of Harry Truman. Now, as the Democratic candidate, he has chosen to fight on principles of militant liberalism. And the question which all voters must decide is: what program can best help America and the world, and what party can best carry that program out? If the answer for liberals is the Democratic Party, then they must back that party's leaders. We choose the Democratic Party in 1948, and we believe Truman deserves full support.

Movements make leaders out of men, and organization wins battles. "The President by himself is nothing," Woodrow Wilson said. "The President is what the American nation sustains, and if it does not sustain him, then his power is contemptible and insignificant." It is time we stopped crying for a new general and started building an army. If liberals and labor work together to sustain all that has been and still is good in the Democratic Party, 1948 will be a new beginning.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

IN LOVE WITH GERMANY

by Malcolm Cowley

SOME WEEKS AGO in the *New Republic* I reviewed a group of war novels by young veterans, discussing them simply from the standpoint of what the authors were saying ("The Young Conquerors," June 28). The nine books in the group formed a strangely connected story, one that covered the years and pretty well covered the parts of the globe where Americans had been fighting; but I noted that there were still wide gaps in the record. *Last of the Conquerors*, by William Gardner Smith (Farrar, Straus; $2.75), fills one of the gaps. It is the first novel of Army life to be written by a Negro.

Although he was too young to serve in Europe during the war, the author spent a year in the Army of Occupation, and he is now a student at Temple University in Philadelphia. His novel, which he finished before he was 20, is the story of a young Negro from the Philadelphia slums who falls in love with Germany and also, of course, with a German girl. It is a straight-line narrative in the early Hemingway manner, written neither better nor worse than most of the novels by returning veterans. Smith deserves credit for reaching their level of competence at such an early age; but I should chiefly recommend the book as an honest record of what Negro soldiers did and said and felt in occupied Germany.

That they felt completely at home is the point of the novel. In Germany they lost the sense of being confined by invisible barriers. They were rich instead of poor, by German standards, and privileged instead of underprivileged. "Now I know what it is to walk into any place, *any* place, without worrying about whether they serve colored," one of them says on his last night in Berlin. "You know what the hell I learned? That a nigger ain't no different from nobody else. . . . I hadda come over here and let the Nazis teach me that. They don't teach that stuff back in the land of the free."

Not one character in *Last of the Conquerors* wants to return to the United States. There is one Negro soldier who commits suicide with his German mistress on the night before his departure; there is another who disappears into the underworld; there is a third who is unjustly punished after a dispute about sending his comrades home. Seizing a carbine from the guard he shoots his top sergeant, tries to shoot his white captain and then escapes into the Russian zone. The hero accepts a discharge under protest, but promises himself and his sweetheart that he will come back to spend the rest of his life in Germany. Yet these soldiers who, to our common shame, end by professing a sort of German patriotism are Americans before they are Negroes. A foreigner might draw a curious lesson from *Last of the Conquerors*: that the two races in this country have developed identical cultures which are kept apart only by force and fear. Except when questions of race are involved, the Negroes act, speak and think exactly like the whites—and even write like them, so that one could read whole chapters of this novel without suspecting that they were written by a Negro about Negroes.

Like all the novels about this war, *Last of the Conquerors* is largely concerned with sex; and the report it makes resembles all the others. There is one slight difference in the sexual behavior of the Negro soldiers as Smith reports it: in the beginning they are excited by the mere novelty of going out with white women. The excitement soon wears away, however, and they begin to compare the Germans with the girls they knew at home. The comparison goes against the American girls—against the dark ones as against the light ones in other war novels—because the Americans are self-centered and never really fall in love. A German girl tells the hero, who decides that she is speaking the truth, "You do not trust the German woman because you have been too long used to the American woman. But I will tell you something. When a German girl tells you, 'I love you,' then she means that. With all her heart. Many times the American girl says that only with her mouth."

This is practically the same statement we have heard about Italian women in *The Gallery* and *All Thy Conquests* and about Tonkinese women in *Tales of the South Pacific*; in fact it is a constant refrain in almost all the books by veterans of foreign service. It is curious that the other war should have produced novels of revolt against armies and bloodshed, whereas the new one seems to be producing novels of revolt against American women.

A war novel in a different category, and one that is almost certain to be popular, is *The Crusaders*, by Stefan Heym (Little, Brown; $3.50). It is the story of a Propaganda Intelligence Unit that landed in Normandy just after D-Day and followed the foremost American troops across France into Luxembourg, where it took over a powerful radio station, and then through Germany to the first meeting with the Russians. The author, a German refugee, served as an enlisted man and later as an officer in such a unit, so that much of his story is based on experience. More of it is invented, and if the inventions are not always fresh, they are at least varied and abundant. The novel has everything, in the Hollywood sense of the phrase. It has combat, pursuit, cruelty,

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sex, a host of characters including General Patton and a story that plunges ahead like an armored division to the final pages where the forces of corruption in the Military Government are at least temporarily vanquished by the forces of good. It also has a thesis and a sound one, namely, that the war was fought against evils some of which exist in our own army and nation.

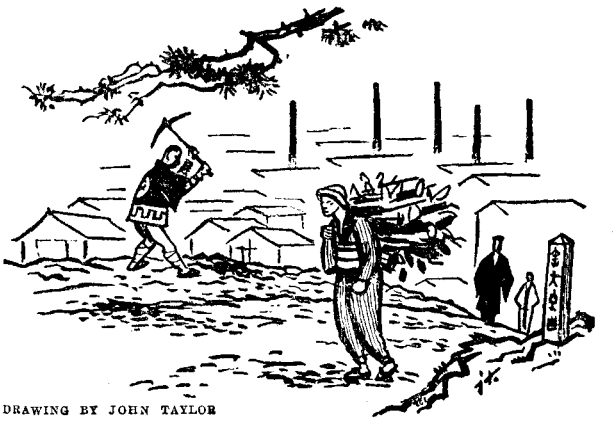
There is only one thing the novel lacks: the respect for his characters and for truth as opposed to bombast that one has a right to expect from a writer of Heym's talent. I spent a whole day reading *The Crusaders*—it has 642 pages—and finished it with a feeling of resentment at having wasted my time. The end of the book is so unmistakably contrived, the characters are so hastily maneuvered into one place and then the evil ones are so miraculously confronted with evidence of their evil-doing that the whole story dissolves into Technicolor. Even the honest and powerful passages, of which there are many, become falsified as one looks back at them; and the sound thesis is weakened by being presented with something less than literary integrity. *Gone with the Wind* was bigger and better and truer to its author's purpose.

DEAR ENEMY

MIRROR FOR AMERICANS: JAPAN, by Helen Mears (Houghton Mifflin Company; $3.50).

HELEN MEARS seems originally to have had an excellent idea for her new book. Speaking to her fellow Americans at the climax of their national power, she wanted to warn them against any feeling of smug superiority. She wanted to remind them that they were not all virtue and their rivals all evil; that, in particular, Japan was not the land of monsters that the emotions of war had made of her, and that, before attempting to instruct the Japanese in the ways of democracy, peace and justice, we had better be sure that our own civilization fitted us as teachers.

Since it is always an instructive experience for a people to attempt to see themselves as others see them, and since Miss Mears has shown herself a perceptive and sympathetic observer of Japanese ways, her *Mirror for Americans: Japan* might have been a valuable aid to international understanding. Unhappily, in a determination to show us the Nipponese point of view and remind us that our own history is not spotless, she has gone to extremes that disqualify her as a candid and helpful critic. Her book is so violent a defense of the Japanese and so wholesale an attack on everyone else that it joins the growing and embittered school of pseudo-historical writing bent on showing that a sinister megalomaniac named Franklin Roosevelt started the war against Japan for his own selfish reasons.



DRAWING BY JOHN TAYLOR

It is hard to believe that Miss Mears intended to include herself in the splutteringly angry company of John O'Donnell, John T. Flynn and the late Charles A. Beard, and she does make a number of attempts to regain her objectivity by confessing that the Japanese record is not altogether appetizing—although even here we are chiefly to blame for teaching the innocent Nipponese the imperialist game. But in general her picture remains sturdily unsoftened—essentially we, and not the Japanese, are to blame for the late war; we could have had an honorable peace long before the dropping of the atomic bomb; and our occupation of the Japanese homeland is a hypocritical outrage.

She is clear about it. From 1938 to Pearl Harbor, "I found my own country taking an identical course" with that we charged against Japan. Americans were aroused by propaganda to "a state of panic," while "wildly distorted accounts of history were apparently accepted as simple fact." She appears to regard it as absurd that "the American people were solemnly warned that the Axis powers intended 'to conquer and enslave the world'." (There are some of us who ridiculously still believe that this was their plan.) She is so convinced such fears were groundless that she finds it "possible to wonder whether the Japanese fear was not more sensible than ours."

She believes that there is "strong supporting evidence" that we "provoked" Pearl Harbor. The concept of Japan as a "world menace" strikes her as "a hoax of major proportions," and she feels that the Japanese military defeat proves that, instead of being fanatically warlike, they are essentially a peaceful people whose soldiers were often driven to mass suicide by fatigue, fear and hysteria. A sensitive reader may thus be embarrassed by the thought of an overbearing bully like Uncle Sam picking on such a nice little fellow.

In her verdicts on the Japanese in China, the author is equally sympathetic. Even those of us who dislike Chiang Kai-shek and his corrupt dictatorship recognize that, during the so-called "Japan incident," he was the leader, however unworthy, of the national resistance of the Chinese people against a brutal foreign aggression, but Miss Mears apparently sees him as just another factional chief, with the stature and legitimacy of the traitor, Wang Ching-wei. The pair of them are puppets in her eyes—the one to the US, the other to Japan.

She quotes W. H. Donald, late Australian adviser to Chiang, as saying that between 1938 and 1940, the Japanese offered peace terms that were "favorable" to China, and she

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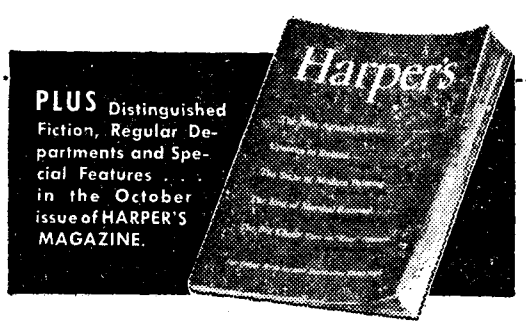
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sees their demand for recognition of the puppet state of Manchukuo as justifiable. Anyway, she says, Manchuria is not part of China, and, in fact, when she has described how "a delegation of Manchurian citizens met in Mukden on February 29, 1932, and proclaimed the independence of Manchuria from China," it is hard to remember that Manchukuo was a puppet state, established by Japanese scheming and ruthless force.

Now that the Japanese are beaten, Miss Mears sees us building up China at the expense of Japan as a "counterweight" against Russia. This diagnosis will come as a surprise to the Chinese, currently deeply worried by what they regard as our determination to reconstruct Japan at their expense.

To the author, we have not only treated Japan barbarously in our "terroristic war" but are now strangling her in peace. State Shinto, which we have decided to put down, she sees as merely "organized nationalism," and the announced destruction of the big-business interests, the Zaibatsu, is simply a blow at a potential industrial rival. Her defense of our recent enemy is so determined that it comes as almost a surprise when she admits that the Japanese attack on Shanghai in 1932 was "tactless."

It is only fair to say that *Mirror for Americans* has much more to offer than an excessive defense of Japan's position in the world, and that Miss Mears presents a considerable part of her extreme position as being the Japanese viewpoint rather than her own. Her doubts about General MacArthur's methods in remolding the character of an alien people seem justified and her criticism of our own employment of thought-control methods in Japan and our use in the occupation of people who know nothing about the country they are governing are to the point. The unhappy thing is that, in her well-intentioned zeal, Miss Mears goes so all out in her determination to reveal our sins and extol our ex-enemy's virtues that she wrecks the value of what she has to say.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

MEMORIAL

PAUL ROSENFELD: VOYAGER IN THE ARTS. Edited by Jerome Mellquist and Lucie Wiese (Creative Age Press; $3.50).

THIS BOOK is a collection of notes on Paul Rosenfeld, written for the most part by acquaintances and close friends. Because it has been composed so soon after his death (in 1946), the book performs the function of an "occasional" piece. The personal reminiscences have something of the character of obituary notices, and because they are also (to quote one contributor) a record of the "exceptional bereavement felt by his colleagues," the book posseses the emotional tone proper to a letter of condolence.

At best, this tone is appropriate as a spontaneous demonstration of affection, personal as Paul Rosenfeld's life as a critic was personal. His interest was largely in and for his contemporaries, and his interest extended to friendship, and every kind of assistance. Edmund Wilson writes of him: "His affectionate and generous nature had to spend itself mainly in the sympathy that he brought to the troubles of his friends and in the tireless encouragement of talent." This affection and generosity are reflected, almost recreated artistically, in the warmth with which his friends and protégés make this public recognition of "those loyalties, personal and impersonal, for which he will be remembered and honored" (William Carlos Williams).

The limitations of such a volume, however, are inherent in its purpose. Too many of the contributors have nothing more to say of the subject than to call witness to their regard and their desire to honor him. An intention one can only respect, but these scraps have the biographical and critical value of the testimony of character witnesses. For all their good will they tend to clutter the volume and lower its caliber, rather in the manner of a benefit performance. But these disadvantages are in turn minimized by the nature of the book. It is primarily a kind of keepsake for those who knew Rosenfeld and who would wish to see justice done him.

This intimate aspect of the book is revealed especially in one detail. "At the end circumstances tended to crush Paul Rosenfeld" (Lewis Mumford). During his last years he was harried by financial troubles; his health was uncertain; he was neglected; and because his critical methods and standards were out of fashion, he even found difficulty in placing his writing. He "talked continually of his failure." Edmund Wilson experiences, with reference to Rosenfeld, "a feeling of dismay and disgust at the waste of talent in the United States," adding that "the burning-out and public indifference . . . are an old and depressing story in the American intellectual world." There is a "deep undercurrent of sadness" in the book because the contributors tend to linger over these last years as if they were still *worrying* about them.

I wouldn't want to suggest that the volume is private to the exclusion of a general interest. Obliquely, it contains an informal history of the New York intellectual milieu during Rosenfeld's career. Waldo Frank says that he "grandiosely personified the 1920's." Specifically, there are accounts of his association with *Seven Arts* and the *Dial* and the *American Caravan* series. Moreover, it is surprising and satisfactory to see how there accumulates through these tributes a full person and a kind of ideal of the critic and the civilized man to which (the writers seem to claim) Paul Rosenfeld so nearly approached.

As one might have expected, it is Marianne Moore who most succinctly and memorably summarizes the virtue and rarity of the man as "the interested mind with the disinterested motive." I shall add one more quotation, this time from Kenneth Burke: "Again and again, one comes upon evidence of Paul Rosenfeld's great ability to convey the warmth of human temperament in its struggle of esthetic piety, its act of thanksgiving that is implicit in the cult and practice of just expression."

JOHN FARRELLY

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RADIO: Report from Poland

WARSAW

THERE ARE no peasants at the Polonia. To get at Poland's plainer people, and plainer facts, you must break away from Warsaw's leading hotel where Very Important People are diverting themselves after their labors at the World Peace Congress just concluded at Wroclaw. You don't have to go far beyond the buzzing lobbies to see things for yourself, but you must steel yourself against vertigo.

Psychological *mal de mer* is an ever present hazard here, whether what you observe is the new or the old, the reconstruction or the ruins, the pride of new achievement or the shameful remains of indescribable tragedy.

The vigorous rebuilding, at a tempo that astounds even Americans, makes one sick and ashamed at our news, radio and other communications curtains that keep people at home from learning of this dynamic vitality. Then there are the ruins. A short taxicab ride brings you to the Ghetto, and not far away is the Old City. The insurrection in the first came a year before the rebellion in the second, and in the rubble of both the dead are buried.

In the Old City, I stopped at what was once the entrance to an apartment house while someone translated the scribbling on a weather-beaten piece of paper glued to the concrete. Stanislaus something-or-other inquires whether anyone knows where Alexandra has gone. Stanislaus gives his address, but even if Alexandra had gotten away before the Nazis started bombing this part of town, it's unlikely she found him there. His building, too, had been blown up.

Anyone climbing about in the rubble of the Ghetto will still find evidence of the old life of the place. The mementos are principally scraps of old Hebrew books—a small fragment identified as the bottom of a page of a book by Rabbi Moses Maimonides; shredded pages from prayer books, the Talmud, the Mishnah. Nearby, under weeds growing at what used to be the third-floor level, I turned over a coverless, dirty but complete copy of the Old Testament, translated into Yiddish, dedicated to "young and old, who may be led hereby to fear of God . . . and earn the deliverance of Zion, Amen." How much of this has the radio given us?

From Cracow, it's a short bus ride to Auschwitz, which today is maintained as a museum. One room is stacked with children's shoes, countless pairs of them; another is jammed to the ceiling with old Hebraic prayer shawls. These are riches the Nazis had not had time to sell or to convert. I was standing in front of a bin of human hair when a 52-year-old woman, with the eyes of a hunted rabbit, appeared next to me and said: "Maybe my hair is there." I had telegraphed this aunt of a New York friend and asked her to meet me at the museum, but I had not meant her to find me in that room. And I had not known that she had spent three years at Birkenau, the crematorium branch of the 40 concentration camps for which Auschwitz was headquarters.

Has the American radio told us of Yuddita, at the Orphan Home just outside Cracow? No one knows how old Yuddita is. A priest—a Polish Catholic—found a child that seemed to be about 18 months old along the tracks of the railroad running to Auschwitz. The child was wrapped in two blankets and was unhurt. The priest thought she might be Jewish, thrown out of a train by a mother being taken to Auschwitz. He kept the child in his attic until the liberation, then turned her over to the Jews.

Have you heard a show based on the woman from a place called Pietrokow whom I saw crying in front of the Rappoport Monument at the edge of Warsaw's ghetto? She had just obtained a passport, was leaving for Australia, where she had a sister. She

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is lucky. Both her children and her husband survived. "But I can't live on a cemetery all my life," she explained. She had come to the Ghetto—where she had lost no one—to say farewell.

The first network script chief who asks me can have the address of a former partisan who never left Poland and is utterly contemptuous of people who talk like the woman from Pietrokow. "Honest people and workers have neither the time nor the desire for psychological rationalization," he insists. "There is too much rebuilding to do, and we are doing it."

A great deal was said of Poland in the years of massacre; little has been told of the aftermath. It is, I submit, good radio material.

What of that vast housing project, the House of the Word? When it is completed, in 1952, it will be a vast unit containing printing shops, offices, studies, homes for all kinds of people concerned with words, from pressmen, engravers and compositors, to poets, novelists, newspapermen, pamphleteers and writers on scientific subjects.

In the train compartment out of Katowicze I talked, in German, to a Pole who is foreman in a railroad repair shop. He had many gripes. But when I complimented him upon the cleanliness and comfort of the railroad car, he came back with the local equivalent of a Fourth of July oration. Proudly he told me that this car had no seats, no floors when the Nazis left. "We did all this," he said. "And when I say things are hard, I'm not blaming anyone except the war. Like we rebuilt this car, we'll rebuild the whole country. It will be better than ever."

Do I hear any bidders for this radio series?

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

Old Tunes

THE FIRST HIT of the new season—to speak like a billboard—is "Show Boat." Produced by Ziegfeld in 1927, it was revived in 1932, presented anew in 1946 by Rodgers and Hammerstein and is now being offered again for a limited engagement at the City Center. It is not too much to say that "Show Boat" is a classic.

Seeing this Kern-Hammerstein musical, therefore, is not like seeing any other show, it is like recapturing a mood. This is true even for those who have never seen it before. The music, if not the "book," is familiar to everyone. And whether or not old melodies are the sweetest, it is true that people who have had long acquaintance with a tune are more than pleased to hear it in its original context. Hence the popularity of such revivals as "Porgy and Bess" and "Carmen Jones."

I loved the original "Show Boat"; I have enjoyed it every time I've seen it since. Its present audience responds to it with a rapture that I have not witnessed in a theatre for a long time. What is its special quality?

It is not enough to say it has a wonderful score. "Show Boat's" affectionate, melting melodies dispel all our defenses. Lilac sentiment swells and billows through them only to fade into poignantly tender whispers, wistful and yearning assurances of romance everlasting. But all this only enhances the appeal of story that perpetuates for twentieth-century Americans the dream of a kindly nineteenth-century past. "Show Boat" was born nostalgic.

Certain young people in the audience, having been brought up to retreat from candid sentiment, are embarrassed by the warm feeling that snares them in "Show Boat." But notice that though everyone praises the performance and singing of the younger players (particularly Carol Bruce), the audience as a whole adores the unabashed theatricality of the old-timers—Billy House and Sam White. It is not through good taste that actors can excel in "Show Boat," but through faith, energy and an ebullience of footlight spirit.

The reviewers who complained that Morey Amsterdam's "Hilarities" (at the Adelphi) was not a good enough show were being severe. Considering its lack of pretension and an orchestra seat at $2.40, I am inclined to be more lenient. You may say that it does not become a theatre commentator to take so commercial a stand, but I have regard for economics as well as for art and I must counter that since I have seen summer-camp entertainment successfully made up into $6.60 packages, I must rate "Hilarities" a bargain at its price.

There are people who would rather listen to the exposition of a trite plot than see a lady as lithe as a snake wriggle to music. I prefer the supple lady. I would rather watch a genial magician like Galli-Galli than a half-tutored actor being "sincere" about a triviality. Gil Maison's One Man Menagerie (a dog-and-monkey act) amuses me more than Thornton Wilder's "Happy Journey," and a fair double-talk expert like Al Kelly convulses me as much as a Molnar witticism. It is true that Morey Amsterdam as master of ceremonies—a function unknown to true

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vaudeville—takes more time than he should and that his personality is too much straight Lindy's to be worthy of a proscenium, but some of his gags—old though most of them are—still rate a laugh.

The real trouble with "Hilarities" is its location. It should not be given in the kind of theatre to which dramatic critics are invited. The old vaudeville houses with their candy and lemonade atmosphere had a brash directness that was as right for their material as Madison Square Garden is for the fights, but the depressed decorum imposed by the "legitimate" playhouse are murder on "Hilarities."

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES

Passionate Clergyman

BECAUSE IT IS the first André Gide work to be filmed and because it has been chosen by Pathé Cinema to open the elegant and expensive Paris Theatre just behind Bergdorf Goodman on the Plaza, "Symphonie Pastorale" automatically becomes the snob picture of the early fall season. It is intended to be highly affecting; to wring your heart and cause you to shake your head over the pathetic intricacies of the human spirit. But such an effect is not produced without some emotional honesty and dramatic conviction; as it comes to the screen, "Symphonie Pastorale" is sticky.

This judgment is not directed against Gide's story, which could be at least plausible if not strikingly original. The pastor of a Swiss mountain village stumbles upon a blind waif, a little neglected animal whom, in an afflatus of compassion and religious fervor, he takes into his home. He guides her every step, teaches her every word, and when she has reached a suitable age develops a feeling for her which no one but himself has much difficulty in defining.

As a consequence, he reacts vigorously when his son falls openly in love with the girl and declares his intention of marrying her, and the reasons he gives why this union is impossible will astonish you. At this point, it occurs to the pastor that it might be wise to have the girl's eyes examined: presto, she sees; but her guardian is still blind as a mole. He drives his son away once more, calls imprecations down on his wife, falls groaning onto the orphan's lap and emerges in the morning to help some passing workmen pull her body out of a brook. This excursion into the clerical libido could be tragedy, though it would take a nice hand to achieve it; much more readily, it is buncombe.

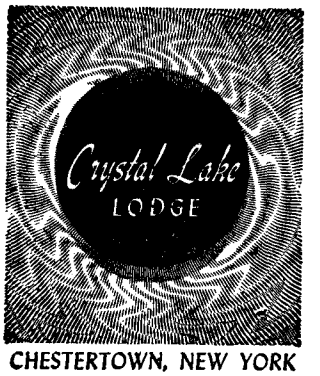
If the story is to work, it is imperative that you believe in the pastor's sincerity, but as Pierre Blanchar has been instructed to play him, this is impossible. What is intended as ecstatic purity appears as almost ludicrous hypocrisy; what is supposed to be a smile of radiant beauty looks like a mouthful of canary feathers. It is difficult to sympathize with the spiritual wrestlings of a man whose face makes you long for a brick.

The rest of the cast, except for Line Noro, who plays the pastor's wife with a kind of despairing honesty, is not much better. Michele Morgan is properly fragile, but her idea of acting blind is to pretend that she can't see, and to stumble about with her arms outstretched. There's more to it than that, as anyone knows who has ever looked into a blind face. Jean Desailly, the son, is one of those damp, weak-chinned juveniles who plague even good French movies. It's a wonder where middle-aged French actors got their fine, strong faces.

Jean Delannoy, who also collaborated on the film text, directs "Symphonie Pastorale" at the slowest beat of the metronome and with a kind of literal editing that is maddening. A character says: "Jacques will be here in the morning"; next shot, it is morning and there's Jacques just turning in at the gate. Repeated often enough, this narrative device can produce hives.

ROBERT HATCH

RESORTS



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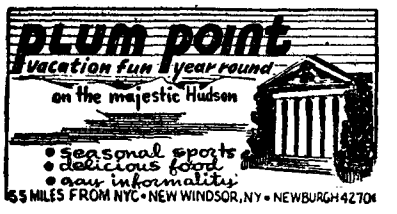
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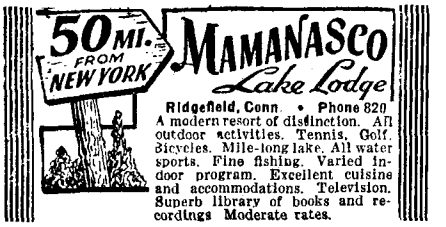
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